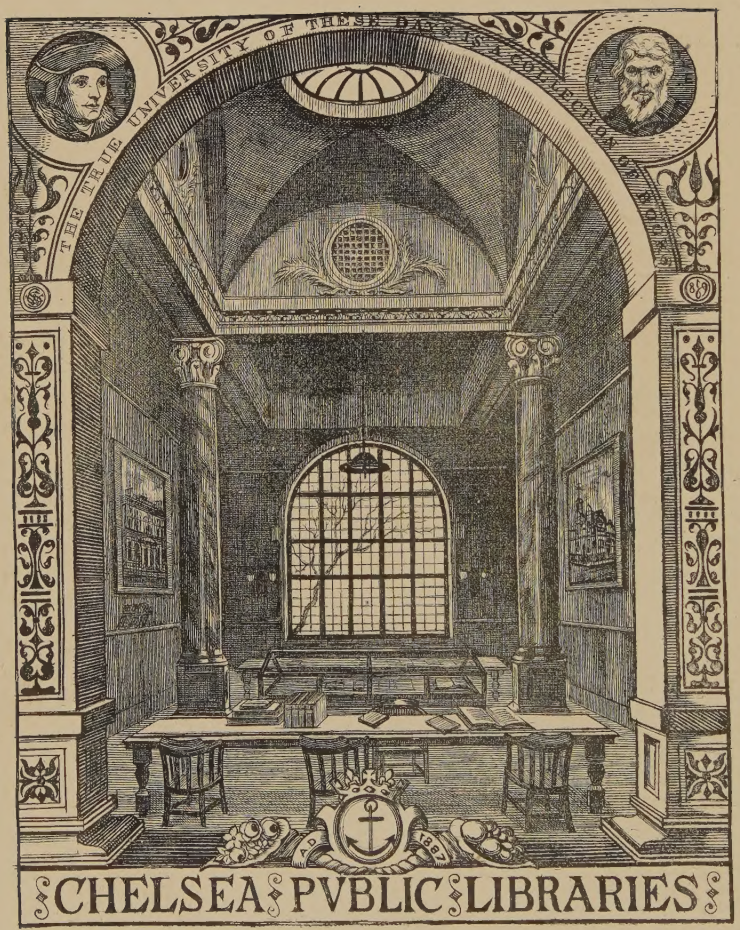


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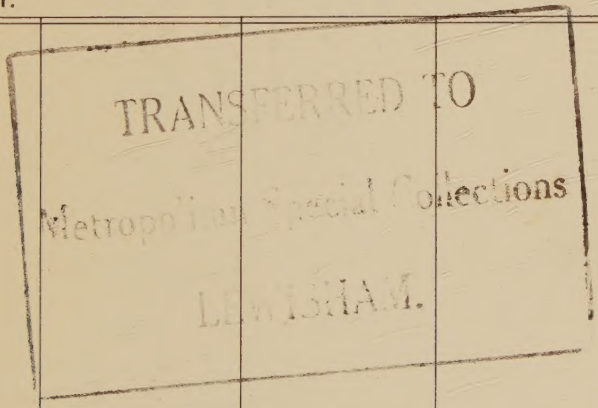

# THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

*Three hundred and fifty copies printed.*

No. 109.

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# The Accession of Queen Mary:

BEING THE CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE OF ANTONIO DE GUARAS, A SPANISH MERCHANT RESIDENT IN LONDON. EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING A CONTEMPORARY BALLAD IN FAC-SIMILE, BY RICHARD GARNETT, LL.D., KEEPER OF PRINTED BOOKS, BRITISH MUSEUM.

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# INTRODUCTION.

—o—

THE only copy at present known of the edition of the narration of Antonio de Guaras, of which this is a reprint, is in the Grenville Library at the British Museum. The Grenville books are included in the great general catalogue of the Museum Library now going through the press. While revising the proofs of this catalogue in the summer of 1888, I was struck by the title of Guaras's volume, and sent for the book. I thought it highly interesting, and my interest was not diminished on finding it unknown to Lord Acton, and other men of wide historical knowledge whom I consulted, and on failing to discover any account of it or the author in the comprehensive bio-bibliography of Nicolas Antonio, or the catalogues of Salva and Gallardo. After a while, however, it appeared that neither book nor author was utterly unknown, although the former had disappeared from literature for all practical purposes, and the scanty notices of the latter needed to be combined to contribute anything of importance towards dissipating the obscurity enveloping him. I found proof of the existence of an apparently unique copy

of another edition of his work on reference to the "Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra," published by the Sociedad de Bibliofilos Españoles in 1877. At page 176, the editor, Señor Pascual de Gayangos, transcribes the title-page of this edition, which he has found bound up with other documents, chiefly MSS., in a volume of historical miscellanies in the library of the Escurial. It has neither place nor date of imprint, erroneously calls the writer Ambrosio de Guaras, and is accompanied by an edition of the account of Queen Mary's coronation differing from that associated with the British Museum edition of Guaras, and reproduced in the present publication. Señor de Gayangos gives no account of the contents of the book; his mention of it, therefore, merely served to register the fact of its existence.

It was next discovered that Guaras's name was not entirely unknown in English history, several references to him occurring in the calendars of State Papers, both domestic and foreign, between the years 1555 and 1577, two or three of which have found their way into Froude's History. Two highly interesting notices of him, of an earlier period, also came to light in the anonymous Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII., published at Madrid in 1874 by the Marquis de Molins, and translated into English in 1889 by Major Martin Hume. Finally, in the very year in which his book attracted my attention in the Museum Catalogue, a flood of light was thrown upon the latter part of his career by the publication, in Tom. 91 of

the Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España, of his correspondence with Philip II. and his ministers from 1572 to 1577, during which period, in the absence of a regularly accredited ambassador, he acted as Spanish diplomatic agent in London. How entirely he had been forgotten appears from the statement of his editor, that, beyond what may be gathered from the correspondence itself, the only certain fact about him is that he was *an Italian.* By weaving together the information obtainable from the publications referred to, and prefixing this to a reprint and translation of the one accessible copy of Guaras's one book, we shall restore a citizen to Spain, and add another name to the roll of England's historians.

The earliest notices of Guaras occur in the interesting anonymous Chronicle of Henry VIII. mentioned above. The author, who is believed to have been a soldier, records at considerable length the murder of one of his countrymen named Gamboa by another named Guevara, and the execution of the latter, which events occurred in 1550. Antonio de Guaras, described as a Spanish merchant, appears as interpreter upon the trial, with the remark that "he spoke good English"; and afterwards, with another countryman named Lope de Carrion, as in attendance upon Guevara and his three accomplices at their execution. "I' faith they served as good friars indeed on that day." We know from Guaras himself that he was in England at the time of the visit of the Duke de Alburquerque, to whom his

narrative is addressed. This was in 1544, and from the general tenor of his language there can scarcely be a doubt that he was well versed in English affairs at the time, and must consequently have already spent some years in the country. As he is always described as a merchant, the character of servant of the Princess Mary assumed upon his title-page must not be taken too literally. He was evidently well educated and accustomed to the forms of good society, and speaks in his correspondence of having conversed with the mother of Mary Queen of Scots. He did not belong to the Princess Mary's household, for his account of her proceedings up to her triumphal entry into London is manifestly not that of an eye-witness, while his description of the scene ensuing upon her proclamation in the City by the Lords of the Council has the graphic touch of personal observation. His narrative leaves him longing for her union with Prince Philip ; and we should have known nothing more of him but for the recent calendars of the English State Papers and the Spanish publications of the Simancas archives, which enable us in some measure to trace his existence as a merchant in London until the time comes for him to play a really important part. On December 18, 1555, the Select Council, writing to King Philip, "object to any licence being granted to Anthony Guarras." On January 1, 1569, a Spanish captain writes to Guaras, who appears to have become Spanish Consul and general referee on his countrymen's commercial grievances, respecting certain

treasure taken out of his ship and lodged with the Mayor of Southampton. In an undated letter we find Guaras petitioning for the return of cannon cast ashore. The other and more important notices respecting him in the English State Papers will be better taken in connection with those occurring in the correspondence of Philip II. with his ambassadors in England, to which we now turn. These invaluable documents, extending from 1558 to 1584, when diplomatic relations were finally broken off, occupy five volumes of the "Documentos inéditos para la historia de España," now in course of publication at Madrid. Transcripts of many of them are in the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. Froude and other historians for whose use they were made, and the whole will in course of time be calendared for the Record Office. It is greatly to be regretted that the Calendar of English State Papers (Foreign Series) has not been continued beyond 1577.

In his memorial soliciting a recompense for his services, Guaras dates the commencement of his diplomatic activity from the death of the Bishop of Aquila, Spanish ambassador to England, which took place on August 22, 1563. Ten days after this event, Luis Roman writes from London to Cardinal Granvelle, minister of the Regent of the Netherlands, that he has consulted Guaras, "a very honourable person, and whom the Bishop regarded as a friend," respecting the grievances of Spanish merchants and fishermen, and has applied to Cecil by his advice. On January

19 Philip, giving detailed instructions to the new ambassador, Diego de Guzman de Silva, says:—"I am also satisfied with Antonio de Guaras and Luis de Paz, now dwelling in London, having understood that in all things occurring there which import my service they perform what is in their power as my good subjects, and therefore I write to them that you may give them my letter and gratify them on my part, and I command them to show you all fitting respect, and always in all things to apprise and advise you, as men experienced and acquainted with the country and the humours thereof, of what may tend to my service, and thus you shall avail yourself of them as confidential persons."

The next notice of Guaras is in a despatch of Guerau de Spes, Guzman's successor as ambassador, dated May 9, 1569. By this time the relations between England and Spain had become excessively strained. The ambassador, after stating that he has aided more than a hundred and fifty Spaniards to escape from the country, adds, "Yesterday, at midnight, many officers of the Crown entered with an armed force into the house of Antonio de Guaras to make seizure of his person, effects, and dwelling, all the rooms of which they have locked and sealed up in the Queen's name; and they have taken from it a great number of crucifixes and images of Our Lady and the Saints, all sculptured, gilded, and very good; and in the morning they carried them as though in procession through the greater part of the city, with great mockery and

laughter, saying that these were the gods of the Spaniards. They burned half of them upon a cart-wheel before the house of the said Guaras, and the other half in the market-place, and out of devotion all the chief men contributed wood for the bonfire. This cannot be but by command of the Council." The ambassador adds that Guaras has taken refuge in his house. From a letter of Antonio Fogaza, a Portuguese connected with the Spanish embassy, it would appear that he was for long a virtual prisoner in his own house. "Antonio de Guaras," it is said, "a very good gentleman and good servant of his Majesty, zealous and devoted in his service, has for three years been in his house* without daring to leave it, which is a great pity. He has only been out once, the other day, to congratulate the ambassador upon the great victory over the Turk" [Lepanto]. During the interval, however, he had written several letters to the Spanish ministers at Brussels and Madrid, printed in Tom. 90 of the "Documentos Inéditos," which in general faithfully reflect the views of the ambassador, a bitter enemy of Elizabeth. The excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope, the imprisonment of the Queen of Scots, the severities exercised against Roman Catholics in England, and an endless series of commercial disputes, had greatly exasperated a large section of the Spanish nation, and no one was more virulent than Don Guerau de Spes. At length,

* The Spanish text has *una*, but this must be a mistake for *suya*, the easier as the document is translated from the Portuguese.

on December 14, 1571, the discovery of the ambassador's complicity in Ridolfi's plot for the abduction of the Queen of Scots and the assassination of Elizabeth brought upon him a peremptory order to leave the country. He went as far as Gravesend, and lingered there and at Canterbury on various pretexts; but in reality awaiting the issue of another conspiracy against the life of Burghley, which being also discovered, he took himself off about the 21st of January. This naturally led to the suspension of regular diplomatic relations between Spain and England. De Spes, foreseeing this, had already advised Philip to appoint an agent to watch Spanish interests during the crisis, and had recommended a secretary of the Duke of Alva. The appointment was, notwithstanding, conferred upon Antonio de Guaras, who had been for upwards of three years the object of the suspicions of the English Government, but now found himself flattered and caressed by Burghley, the only English minister with whom he seems to have had at any time intimate relations. Profiting by these favourable dispositions, of the sincerity of which he continually assures his master, Guaras was able, by February, 1573, to conclude an agreement for the regulation of commercial intercourse, in which, as he boasts in his subsequent memorial asking a reward for his services, all his predecessors had failed. From December, 1572, to November, 1574, no letters of his are found in the Simancas archives, though he appears to have written every week. Two

letters of his to Burghley of this period, preserved in the British Museum, show that he was on cordial terms with the great minister; and much light is thrown upon his character and situation by a curious epistle from Ralph Lane to Burghley, dated January 17, 1573–4, printed in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's Calendar of Lord Salisbury's Papers, pt. 2, p. 68. After mentioning a loan of three thousand pounds to be advanced by Guaras, which shows that he was then a person of substance, Lane speaks mysteriously of some nobleman* who is to be shielded from any advantage that foreign factions may endeavour to take of his young unstaid mind. "Thinks the acquainting Guerras too much with foreign intelligence (though no harm be meant or done on his part) may yet turn him in time to much hurt, and a western Spanish storm may, with some unhappy mate at helm, steer his noble bark so much to the northward [Scotland] that unawares he may wreck, as some of his noblest kind hath done, the more pity of their fault. To be plain, if her Majesty take not some order to employ Guerras well in some way, he is like enough, at some time or other, to employ himself abroad—without his best friends' advices. And, therefore, to draw him from this humour lately crept into him, if Burghley thinks of some employment in her Majesty's service, were it but to

* This young nobleman, from an endorsement by Burghley, would seem to have been Edward, Earl of Oxford, who, according to Camden, "made his patrimony fly."

accompany the Lord Deputy into Ireland, and there bestow the summer, this motion only, with such hope of further employment in greater matters as Burghley may add thereto, will peradventure be sufficient of itself to quench this vapour newly kindled."

Ralph Lane's fears respecting Guaras were not devoid of foundation. When the interrupted correspondence is resumed, we find him much more disposed to take part in general politics than formerly, full of sympathy with the Queen of Scots, and on the verge of becoming a dangerous plotter. It was, indeed, most difficult for a Spanish diplomatist, at the court of an excommunicated Queen to avoid such a character; but the good sense of Guaras's first communications to his master might have justified a hope that he would be found such a man. The change may have been partly occasioned by the appointment to the Government of the Low Countries of Don John of Austria, the hero of Lepanto, who seemed to all Roman Catholics the "man sent from God, whose name was John," destined to rescue and espouse Mary Queen of Scots. Guaras writes warmly in support of this project, which of course implied a plot against the peace of Elizabeth's dominions, if not against her life. The first clear intimation of his being suspected by the English Government is an ominous entry in the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign Series)—*Antonio Guerras to Don John of Austria. Letter in Spanish cipher intercepted.* 15 *Feb.*, 1577. As no interpretation is given by the

calendarer, it must be supposed that the cipher was too hard for him, and that the contents are still a mystery. The seizure was effected by Dr. Wilson, Elizabeth's diplomatic agent in the Low Countries, who, on March 10, sends two more letters "to be deciphered, or else to be sent back that he may devise to have them deciphered if nobody there can." It was a tough business. Guaras, in his letters to Spain, frequently expresses the greatest confidence in his cipher, and Wilson, writing on March 17, "would wish that Guaras were enforced to decipher his own letters, for he fears none can decipher them. It cannot but be that there is great matter in them very needful for the Queen to know." When, however, they are finally deciphered by an expert named Saint Aldegonde, their contents do not appear of exceeding importance, except as proving that Guaras is in regular communication with the Queen of Scots, and that "if he should be imprisoned, he has laid up his papers and writings very close." This is fully confirmed by a letter from himself, probably to Secretary Zayas, of September 28, 1577, printed in the "Documentos Inéditos." "I have received from the Queen of Scots the letter sent herewith; write to her. I have the most secure arrangements for receiving and forwarding any important despatch. The world hopes, and this Queen [Elizabeth] and the people about her fear, that God has reserved her for some eminent service to himself; and, any way, it will be a relief to comfort her with words until this can be done

with deeds." A month afterwards Guaras's servant Aguirre reports to Secretary Zayas in Spain, that on the 19th of October, at midnight, the Sheriff had made a descent upon Guaras's house, seized his papers, and carried him off to the Tower. Between Christmas Eve and December 29, Guaras, though he says that his gaolers never let him out of their sight, contrives to write to Zayas, repeating his servant's account, and saying that the English ministers, to give more colour to their proceedings, intend to charge him with complicity in the Earl of Westmoreland's rebellion, of which he is entirely innocent. From a series of interrogatories, however, administered to him some time in the following year, and preserved among the Burghley papers at Hatfield (Calendar, pt. 2, p. 228), it would appear that all they wanted of him was the disclosure of his relations with the Scottish Queen and Don John of Austria.

*Articles to be ministered unto Anthony Gwerras.*

1. What letters have been either sent by you to the Scots' Queen or received by you from her during her imprisonment?

2. By whom were they conveyed, and when?

3. What was contained in them? and what letters or messages do you know to have passed between Don John and the Scots' Queen?

5. [*sic*] How far did Don John proceed in treaty of

marriage with the Scots' Queen, and who were the principal dealers therein?

4. Did you not let Don John understand by your letters that this said Queen had written to you to pray the King your master to have care of the banished men, especially the Earl of Westmoreland?

5. In the cipher that passed between you and Don John who were "82," "29," and "38"?

6. Whom do you know to be principal favourers of the Scottish Queen?

7. What plots do you know to have been laid for her delivery? and by whom?

8. What practices have been intended for the disquieting of the realm? and who were the principal authors?

9. What secret messages have you received since you were restrained? and by whom?

Guaras's answers to these interrogatories have not been preserved, but the "Documentos Inéditos" contain a note drawn up by himself, apparently some time after the examination, of his replies to another set of questions put to him on June 23, 1578, by "Sir Katermilme" [Walter Mildmay] and Dr. Wilson, the diplomatist who had intercepted his correspondence with Don John. Most of his replies are simple denials, but the following is curious:—"They told me that His Majesty [Philip] was poor, and on this account did not provide for me, discoursing much on my poverty. That he had [*some figure*

*under* 20 *seems to have been omitted*] —— millions of revenue and spent twenty, and was overwhelmed with debts. They asked me how I knew that the Queen's revenue was small. I said I knew what she received, and that Ireland cost her twenty thousand pounds a year more than it brought her in; and if she would prove her wealth let her spend thirty millions in war as His Majesty had done in Flanders, and then have as much again in hand for the subjugation of that country through His Highness [Don John]: and that the rental of Seville alone was more than the revenue of this crown. For they in long discourses belittled my King's greatness, and I told them the truth in few words." Two days afterwards his servant and amanuensis Aguirre was interrogated, the chief fact elicited being that Guaras had destroyed his papers shortly before his arrest, from apprehension, Aguirre asserted, of war breaking out between Spain and England. This was not the true reason, but the question shows that no important discoveries had been made.

Fortunately for Guaras, diplomatic relations were at the beginning of 1578 renewed between England and Spain, and the new ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, the celebrated historian of the war in the Low Countries, made urgent representations in his favour. They were at first roughly received, Elizabeth saying,* "very angrily,"

* It appears that Elizabeth's conversations with the Spanish minister were carried on, at least on her part, in Italian, though the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo, says that she could speak Spanish.

that if he had not been a Spanish subject she would have hanged him for his correspondence with "her rebels" and the Scottish Queen, but eventually promising to release him when his examination should be finished. This was in March. On June 3 Guaras was informed that he would be banished the kingdom within ten days, but on July 19 Mendoza reports that fresh difficulties have arisen respecting another charge preferred against him, and that his detention will be prolonged. Shortly afterwards his brother, Gombal de Guaras, arrived with the intention of promoting his release, which Mendoza thinks he unwittingly retarded, both by his indiscretions and the repute of his wealth, Guaras himself being reduced to great necessity. On January 1, 1579, Mendoza says that he has been able to give Guaras's wife comfort, which she greatly needs, and that she is a very superior woman (*es una muy principal señora*). She was evidently at Madrid, for on May 8 Mendoza requests Zayas to inform her that her husband has been released, in consequence, Burghley informs him, of his brother's solicitations. He remained a short time in London to sell his house* and discharge his debts with his brother's assistance, and finally quitted England on May 24. "Notwithstanding his long imprisonment," says the ambassador, "I am told that he is in very good health, which at his age is no small favour

* From a document of uncertain date in the English State Papers (Domestic Series, 1547–1580, p. 695) this house would seem to have been bought by the Drapers' Company.

that God vouchsafes him." It also says something for the salubrity of the Tower of London. "It seems," pursues Mendoza, "a just judgment upon Guaras for having desired nothing so much as to play the part of minister here, and this is why they put him into the Tower, and right glad am I to see him out of it, for the business gave me plenty of disgusts, and, before it was over, I have been two or three times quite upset about it." He recommends Guaras, notwithstanding, to Zayas's good offices with the King,* and, we may hope, not in vain: though Guaras is hardly likely to have received the twenty thousand crowns which, in the memorial above cited, he states to have been promised him by the late Comendador Requesens, Don John's predecessor in the Low Countries, as a recompense for concluding the commercial agreement of 1573. It is to be regretted that the editors of the "Documentos" have not given us the full text of this memorial; the last trace, so far, of Antonio de Guaras. He had lived more than forty years in England, the most momentous in her history since the Norman Conquest, and in all her history the most fraught with import not only for her but for Europe. Obeying an upright but misguided conscience, he had done his best to turn her into a wrong path, he had plotted treason and rebellion, if not murder, with no doubt upon his mind that he was acting in her best interest, no less than in that of his own church and

* After September, 1579, Mendoza, unlike his predecessors' and his own previous practice, almost invariably writes direct to the King.

sovereign. If he survived long to recount his experiences to his people at home, and trace the turbulent period between the scaffold of Anne Boleyn and the gibbet of Campion, he must have conveyed a dismal picture indeed of the land where Shakespeare and Bacon were growing up. We at this day, accustomed to English stability and Spanish disorder, can hardly realize how completely the position was inverted in the sixteenth century; how England, with her constant revolts and conspiracies, captive princes and decapitated nobles, and alternate martyrdoms of Catholic and Protestant, must have appeared to a people with hardly an exception enthusiastically devoted to their sovereign, and who had witnessed no serious disturbance of public order for half a century. The Spaniard is not naturally less law-abiding or less liberty-loving than the Englishman, and the only explanation of the complete reversal of the position of the two nations in power, wealth, and good government is that in the sixteenth century England embraced a principle of life, and Spain a principle of death, from which, happily, she in this nineteenth century struggles to free herself.

Guaras, of course, could not see this, and the imperfection of the observer is the chief recommendation of the historian. Judging all things from a Spanish point of view, he shows us the transactions of the time as they appeared to an intelligent Spanish sojourner in the country. He has the advantage of being the first regular

narrator in the field, his account being written in the latter days of August, when the impression of recent circumstances was exceedingly lively ; of a perfect acquaintance with the language ; a kindly sympathy with the people ; access to excellent sources of information ; and a generally sound judgment. Considering his peculiar position, it is highly to his credit that he should be so seldom contradicted by his contemporaries, whom he corroborates in turn. A slight degree of misrepresentation from religious prejudice may occasionally be traced, but it amounts to little more than over-colouring. His artless style is clear and rapid ; his story has the liveliness of a narrator deeply interested in the events he describes. His chief positive contributions to our information are the important statement, not to be hastily accepted or rejected, that Mary fled two days before her brother's death ; and, in his editor's opinion, a more authentic version of Northumberland's speech on the scaffold than has been hitherto known. An impartial perusal of the version published at the time, as given in the Appendix to this book, must satisfy the reader that it has been edited and interpolated by a divine much profounder than Northumberland, and much more affected by the *odium theologicum*. On the other hand, Guaras's version is fuller and more interesting than that given in Tytler's "Edward VI. and Queen Mary." Guaras is not given to boasting of exceptional sources of knowledge ; his statement, therefore, that on this particular occasion he stood so near the

scaffold that hardly any of Northumberland's words escaped him, is worthy of all credit, and is amply confirmed by the internal evidence of the speech as reported by him.

Guaras's own character appears in a very favourable light. The first notice we have of him—not from his own pen—represents him as performing the last offices of religion for an unhappy countryman, and he writes throughout his narrative with the piety, gravity, and dignity which befit a Castilian gentleman. If but little piety or chivalry, according to modern ideas, is visible in his subsequent diplomatic conduct, it must be remembered that this would be regarded very differently by the opinion of his age and country. His moderation in speaking of Mary's fallen enemy Northumberland is much to his honour; and it is noticeable that, unlike the street-singer whose ballad we are about to reproduce, he nowhere taunts Northumberland with the iniquities of his father. It is a strong instance of the perverting influence of religious passion that a man of this generosity should applaud the St. Bartholomew.

The account of Mary's coronation which accompanies Guaras's narrative is not from his pen. It is translated by an unknown person from an Italian account printed, doubtless at Venice, at the end of 1553 or the beginning of 1554, which is shown to be original by the description of the Venetian merchants who took part in the procession as "i nostri," and the mention of the Venetian Govern-

ment as "our most illustrious Signory." That the Spanish version is a translation also appears clearly from several errors and wilful alterations, sometimes destructive of the sense. The Venetian account appears to be closely connected with that given by the French ambassador Noailles, and invariably supports him where he differs from Strype and the MS. English narratives. The latter are much fuller, as was to be expected. Like Guaras's book, the Venetian account exists in England only in the Grenville Library. It was consequently unknown to the late Mr. Planché, who described Mary's coronation in his "Regal Records; or, a Chronicle of the Coronations of the Queens Regnant of England," 1838. This coronation is of unusual interest, being the first in our history of a Queen reigning in her own right.

Of two of the documents reprinted in the Appendix there is not much to be said. It has been thought well to give the text of Northumberland's speech as published, that the reader of Guaras's version may be able to compare the two: it has also appeared worth while to disinter Mary's temporizing proclamation on religious differences (*res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri*), so pointedly mentioned by Guaras, from the catacombs of Foxe and Wilkins. Both these documents, however, might very well have been included in the notes, but for the lack of proportion between them and the other annotations. The case is far otherwise with the unique black letter ballad on Mary's accession, given in *fac*

*simile*, and now for the first time republished. It is the only recorded production of its printer, Madeley, and though mentioned by Ames on the authority of a MS. copy, appears never to have been seen in print until very recently, when it was purchased by the British Museum. Of the writer, T. W., we can at present only affirm that he was no nursling of Apollo or the Muses. He has, however, entitled himself to some remark even in a poetical point of view by his adaptation of the fourteen-syllable ballad to the metrical structure of the Rhyme Royal, thus creating a peculiar, possibly an unique example of metrical form. His ditty, wretched as a poem, is still most interesting historically, and especially so as an appendage to Guaras, whose picture of the public sentiment it most fully confirms. The encomium on Edward the Sixth is noteworthy as showing that Protestants were as yet far from apprehending any danger to religion from the accession of Mary. The date must be between July 25, when Northumberland was brought to the Tower, and August 3, the day of Mary's triumphal entry, the former incident being dwelt upon and the latter omitted. Two other metrical broadsides on Mary's accession, "Ave Maria" and "Marigold," are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and are described in Mr. Lemon's catalogue.

The Editor has not attempted to illustrate his author's narrative from MS. sources. He has made all possible

use of such information as he could find in print, especially the Spanish and English State Papers; the accounts of eye-witnesses like Machyn and Soranzo; the nearly contemporary narrative of Raviglio Rosso; and Mr. Froude's History.

R. GARNETT.

March 15, 1892.

*Relacion muy verdadera de Antonio d' Guaras: criado de la Serenissima y Catholica reyna de Inglaterra al Illustre S. Duque de Alburquerque: Vissorey y Capitan General d'l Reyno de Nauarra, etc.*

*En la qual se trata en q̃ miserias y calamidades, y muertes d' grãdes, ha estado el reyno tãtos años ha.*

*Como doña Maria fue proclamada por Reyna: y de todos obedescida: y de su coronacion, etc.*

ILLUSTRISSIMO SEÑOR,

No he escripto a vuestra Señoria Illustrissima sobre algunas cosas q̃ se han offrescido enesta tierra : aun que las ha hauido muchas y d' importancia, despues q̃ V. S. de aqui partio : por tener por cierto q̃ seria auisado por via de Corte dellas. Y tãbien lo he dexado de hazer con temor que V. S. se desseruiria cõ mi atreuimiẽto. Y porq̃ podria ser q̃ de presente ni por via de Corte : ni por otra tuuiesse tan particular informacion de las grandes nouedades deste Reyno, como por esta mi carta : me ha parescido q̃ antes recibiria V. S. seruicio con ella que pesadumbre.

Como V. S. terna informaciõ el rey Henrique dexo nombrados xvj. de los grandes deste reyno, por expresso testamento : para q̃ todos juntamente governassen : y q̃ ninguna cosa de importãcia determinassen sin consentimiento de todos. Y luego q̃ el rey fallescio, a quien dios perdone : de parescer y consentimiẽto de todos : y contra la orden y expresso testamento dicho : nombrarõ por Protector del reyno, y de la persona del rey su hijo y successor de la corona, al conde de Arfort, que V. S. conoscio, tio del dicho rey Eduardo, de parte de madre : el qual despues fue creado duque de Sumerset : y el q̃ era mas intimo amigo d'l dicho de Sumerset : era el conde de

Baruic, q̃ era Almirante enel tiempo que V. Señoria se hallo aca: y despues fue duque de Northumberland.

Viendo estos Duques antes q̃ el rey Henrico muriesse sobre estar sin esperança de su vida: por se le hauer cerrado vna fuente que tenia en vna pierna: q̃ el duque d' Norfolc y su hijo el conde Sorel tan amigo y conoscido de V. S. les podriã yr ala mano en el gouierno a los dichos Duques: trataron de les leuantar que el hijo hauia hecho pintar cierto escudo de armas: en las q̈ les estauan algunas del rey: y q̃ era argumento euidente q̃ se queria alçar por rey: y por ello fue degollado: sobre ser mas q̃ innocente: y al padre condenarõ a carcel perpetua: diziẽdo q̃ lo hauia sabido, y q̃ no lo hauia descubierto: y assi ha estado preso el dicho duque mas de siete años. El dicho duque de Sumerset tuuo vn hermano q̃ fue gran Almirãte deste reyno, assi mesmo tio del rey, y fueron tãtas las passiones entre los dichos hermanos: cõ induzimiẽto del dicho de Northumberland: que fauorescia y aconsejaua en todo al de Sumerset: q̃ hizo prender al dicho Almirante, y sin ser oydo en justicia lo sacarõ de la prision al cadahalso: adõ de le cortaron la cabeça con grãde murmuracion del pueblo, de q̃ su hermano vsasse con el de tanta inhumanidad. Despues paresciendo les a los dos duques confederados, q̃ en las cosas del gouierno ninguno les yra ala mano: acordaron de desuergonçar se en permitir q̃ se predicasse al pueblo la secta en que despues han estado, assi por ser ellos dessa opiniõ como por ver el pueblo inclinado a ella: permitiẽdo q̃ todos los

hereges d' otras tierras se acogiessen aqui. Y han venido tantos, & han predicado tan confusamente: assi en las cerimonias como en todo lo de mas, que en cada perrochia administrauan differentemente, aun q̃ la mayor parte de los ingleses erã de contrario parescer, por ser catholicos. Pero por no incurrir en grandes penas que hauian ordenado, dissimulauan & murmurauan que estos desordenes serian causa de su perdicion de los dichos Duques y predicadores, y de los demas. Y assi se offrescio que el de Sumerset sobre passiones que despues se engendraron sobre el gouernar: quiso echar mano dela persona del d' Northumberland: pero como el de Northumberland era persona valerosissima: y que conocia que el de Sumerset era de poco ser (como cierto lo era) y de poco estomago: trato que se le allegassen muchos de los grandes a el: informando les de trayciones que hauia hecho el de Sumerset como el dezia, assi en la reddicion de Bolonia & otros fuertes en poder de Franceses, como en q̃ la persona del rey no hauia de estar en mano de gouernador tan sospechoso. Y el d' Sumerset entendiendo esto se retruxo al castillo de Vinsor: con mano armada: lleuando consigo al rey: y declarando al dicho de Northumberland por traydor: y alos demas sus cõfederados. Pero fue tãto el numero de los grandes q̃ acudierõ a la parte del de Northumberlãd, y los muchos q̃ desampararõ al de Sumerset, q̃ ala fin los pocos q̃ quedaron con el de Sumerset le prendierõ enel mesmo castillo: y cõesto le sacaron al Rey de su poder: y a el le

traxeron por esta ciudad con tres, o quatro mil hombres de guerra: con algunos mas de su compañia: gritando mueran traydores.

Despues tratarõ los dichos dos Duques, q̃ por quitar se de passiones: q̃ el rey perdonaria al dicho d' Sumerset, y que casaria el hijo heredero mayor del de Nòrthumberland, q̃ es el cõde de Baruic: con la hija mayor d'l duq̃ d' Sumerset: como se hizo: y fue puesto en libertad el dicho d' Sumerset, y se celebraron grandes fiestas: & vinieron en gouierno los dos cõsuegros, mostrando se mucho amor exterior. Despues no faltaron malignos q̃ remostrassen al de Sumerset los trabajos en q̃ el dicho Duque d' Northumberland le hauia puesto y que se deuia vengar del. E assi por ello como por las nueuas passiones que concebia enel nueuo gouierno, d'termino el duque d' Sumerset de tratar d' matar en vn combite que hauia de aparejar en su casa al dicho duq̃ de Northumberland. Y vn cauallero de sus confederados desta conjuracion, que se dize dõ Thomas palmer: reuelo el negocio al dicho d' northumberland, el qual con dissimulacion embio en nombre d' todo el consejo a llamar al d' sumerset, y luego fue preso y embiado ala torre, y prendieron a muchos grandes por ello. Despues fue lleuado a la audiencia publica el d' Sumerset, adõ de fue acusado de trayciõ: de lo qual fue dado por libre: pero siendo acusado por que quiso matar al de Northumberland fue condenada. Y sabra V. S. q̃ el dicho de Sumerset siendo Protector: y temiendo que algunos no tratassen conjuraciones contra

el: ordeno con autoridad del parlamẽto q̃ qualquier que cõtra algun noble del reyno tratasse por palabras, o por otra manera d' la muerte del tal: que aunq̃ no la huuiesse puesto en execucion q̃ mereciesse por ello la muerte: y los q̃ lo supiessen por oyda: sino lo descubriã luego al consejo: o ala justicia mas cercana. Y poresta ley fue el dicho d' Sumerset cõdenado: por lo hauer comunicado: aunq̃ no lo hauia puesto por obra. Y aun q̃ fue dado por libre por el caso de trayciõ: procuro el de Northũberland d' dar fin con el de Sumerset, por lo de mas. Y por ser el caso tan ligero: tenia por seguro en la opinion de todos: q̃ el rey le daria su perdon: y quando el pueblo estaua como satisfecho desto, vna noche antes q̃ el Duque de Sumerset padeciesse, embio el de Northũberland a mãdar secretamẽte a los vezinos mas principales, q̈ en la mañana siguiẽte no permitiessen a sus criados yr ala plaça dõde se hazia justicia: & aq̃lla mañana tres, o q̈tro horas antes d' la hora acostũbrada: le sacarõ desde la torre al cadahalso: y le cortaron la cabe ça, aunq̃ muchos del pueblo q̃ auiã venido a verlo: no obstãte el dicho mãdamiẽto: hizierõ vn gran rumor, como q̃ yuan a saluar le. Pero los halabarderos: de los quales hauia muchos: estuuierõ quedos, y el mesmo d' Sumerset dixo al pueblo. Amigos tened paciẽcia y cõtentaos con lo q̃ el rey manda, y aqui mostro su poco ser, q̃ si el quisiera echar se del cadahalso, o poner se en fuerças cõ el verdugo, cierto no muriera alli: porq̃ no tenia ningũas prisiones ni ataduras: por ser costũbre de lleuar a los

nobles quando van a padescer sin ellas: y la guarda de los halabarderos, y los de mas dissimularan cõ el fauor del pueblo. Pero la sangre de su hermano el Almirante daua bozes ante dios: y lo q̃ peor es: el encomendo al pueblo q̃ se abraçassen con la secta que tenian: remostrando le que era la verdadera religion: y esta es la causa principal porque el pueblo le, queria mucho: y porque veyan que el de Northumberland hauia de gouernar con tyrania. Y dẽtro de quinze dias despues degollarõ dos cauall'os: y ahorcarõ otros dos q̃ erã delos principales deste reyno y eran delos conjurados con el de Sumerset.

*Como el Duque de Northumberland gouernaua solo: y se apodero de todo el thesoro deste reyno: y como hizo ꝑclamar por reyna a doña joãna su nuera & a la reyna doña Maria publicamente declarar bastarda.*

De todo esto he hecho mencion enesta carta, para que V. S. vea por la orden que el de Northumberland se hizo grãde, el qual ha gouernado hasta agora cõ tanta quietud: q̃ todos los otros grandes del reyno le hã sido tan obediẽtes: como si el houiera sido el verdadero rey. Y considerando que el principal instrumento de q̃ el dicho cõde Sorel fuesse degollado, y su dicho padre el duque de Norfolc perpetuo preso: y el dicho Almirante y el dicho de Sumerset tios del rey degollados: y tambien q̃ hauia hecho poner presos al obispo de Londres al de Muchestre,

al de Duran, al de Viseter, y al de Chichester, y les hauia hecho priuar d' sus beneficios: & assi mesmo a otros muchos doctos y catholicos, por no hauer q̃rido jurar ni consentir enlas ordenãças dela secta, determino de dar ordẽ como pudiesse librar se de muchos trabajos: que era de parescer q̃ le podiã suceder a causa d'llo: luego q̃ el rey viniesse en edad d' gouernar. Y para cõseguir este effecto: hizo juntar parlamento, & ordenaron enel lo que era a su proposito, y especialmente procuro en nõbre del rey, d' recoger todo el thesoro q̃ pudo: q̃ estaua en poder ce thesoreros, y en mas de veynte meses hizo que el rey no pagasse a sus criados ni sus deudas: portener el en su poder el thesoro, y q̃ todos los del reyno estuuiessen pobres. Ordenaron que toda la plata que estaua enlas yglesias de cruzes y calices, de que hauia hecho hazer inuentario antes: por mas seguridad que se entregasse a vso del rey como se hizo. Y puede Vuestra señoria considerar que en todo el Reyno monto mucho. Hizo q̃ Londres & otros pueblos pusiessen en mano del Rey toda la municiõ & artilleria. Cõpro en todas las partes q̃ se pudierõ hauer las armas manuales q̃ hallo: mas por desarmar al pueblo q̃ no por falta q̃ tuuiesse d' llas para los suyos. Desarmo todos los fuertes deste reyno: q̃ como V. S. sabe ay muchos en esta tierra enlos puertos. Tomo a su mano todos los cauallos de guerra: q̃ era gran numero: en el q̈l esta toda la fuerça deste reyno. En el dicho Parlamento echo grãdes pechos y subsidios. Y despues d' hauer hecho esto & otras cosas semejãtes para su ꝑposito: acordo de matar

al rey segũ ha seydo publico con dar le veneno: el q̈l pobre innocẽte ha estado enfermo: 7 meses. Dizen hizo estrechas ligas cõ el rey d' Francia: y grãdes promessas d' le entregar a Cales & a Gunies: porq̃ le fuesse buẽ amigo. Hizo q̃ el rey ordenasse q̃ dexaua por sus herederas las hijas del duq̃ de Sofolc: el q̈l duque fue casado con doña Francisca hija dela segunda hermana del rey Henrrico la q̈l fue antes casada con el rey Luys d' Frãcia: y despues con el otro duq̃ de Solfolc q̃ V. S. conoscio: de quiẽ tuuo a esta doña Frãcisca. E hizo tanto el dicho de Nortũberland con el rey y con los grandes: que se desuergonçarõ a declarar publicamente que su alteza era bastarda. E assi poresto como porq̃ era (como ellos dezian) papista el q̈l nõbre han puesto alos catholicos: porq̃ se queria casar cõ Principe estrangero: que era cosa razonable q̃ fuesse desheredada. Y como estaua cierto d' la muerte del rey, hizo q̃ casasse doña Joanna hija mayor del dicho duque de Sofolc y dela dicha donã Frãcisca: con el tercer hijo suyo del dicho d' Nortumberland: para efecto q̃ por parte dela muger viniesse su hijo q̃ se dize Milord Guilbert a ser rey. Y alos vnos por temor, y alos otros por promessa, y alos otros por dones embauco por tal manera, que todos los grandes deste reyno sellaron & firmarõ la dicha ordenãça, con testamento del rey: estãdo 'viuo el dicho rey. Y esto passo en veynte y vno d'

Su Alteza (es la Reyna doña Maria: hija del rey Hẽrico) y de la reyna doña catalina: hermana dela reyna doña Joanna: madre del Emperador don Carlos nuestro señor.

Junio y lo mismo hizo el Mayre de Londres, y los regidores & letrados. Y despues se siruio nuestro señor que alos seys de Julio siguiente murio el rey, plegue a el tener le en su gloria. Y visto esto: y que le parescia q̃ tenia al rey d' Frãcia por amigo, y alos grandes del reyno prendados y que todos hauian consentido en esta trayciõ, determino publicar q̃ el rey era muerto: y alos diez del dicho mes proclamaron en esta ciudad y en otras partes del reyno a la dicha doña Joanna por reyna, con grande autoridad de Arantes: y halabarderos: & tirarõ mucha artilleria d' la torre. Y el pueblo marauillado desta tan grã nouedad sin dezir palabra se mirauã como atonitos los vnos a los otros: & a vno q̃ dixo, que porque no hauia de ser doña Maria reyna le cortarõ las orejas cercen, haziendo grandes autos de arãtes por temorizar al pueblo. A todas estas cosas pueyo cõ mucha astucia y sagacidad el dicho duq̃ de Northũberland, y en lo mas importante le cego nr̃o señor, y era lo que el en menos temia y el penso que hecho lo que hizo: que a todo tiempo ternia en su poder a doña Maria, que es agora reyna, la qual estaua cõ cinquẽta o sesenta criados a veynte y cinco millas de aqui: y penso embiar por su alteza para q̃ viniesse aqui a Londres a visitar ala dicha doña Joãna que proclamaron reyna, & a que la conosciesse por tal. Y porq̃ sabia que su alteza no lo huuiera hecho, tenia prestos quinientos cauallos de guerra para q̃ la truxessen: y por desobediente echar la presa, y despues hazer della lo que del rey.

*Como su alteza despues que supo que el rey su hermano era muerto se hizo en su casa proclamar por reyna: y como se puso cõ los suyos enel campo animando los para la batalla.*

Como la reyna estaua auisada mas hauia de vn año que este hombre y los suyos andauã con mal, como discretissima q̃ es, dissimulo el negocio cõel de Nortumberlãd, el q̈l casi cada dia escreuia a su alteza cartas d' mucho respecto, haziendo le saber q̃ el rey estaua tan malo: pero q̃ si otro q̃ biẽ ordenasse dios d'l q̃ el mostraria por obra su desseo & fidelidad q̃ dezia le tenia a su alteza. Pero la magestad de la reyna temporizãdo cõ el y respõdiendo le que le tenia por fidelissimo, en su tiempo conueniente hizo cierto lo q̃ el espiritu sancto le alũbro. Y fue q̃ dos dias antes q̃ el rey muriesse q̃ era alos quatro de Julio: de noche cõ grã diligẽcia se fue de donde estaua de estãcia hasta obra de sesenta millas de aqui: con solamente sus criados: fingiẽdo q̃ hauia dos o tres dolientes en su casa, y q̃ se mudaua por ello. Y luego q̃ el dicho d' Northumberland y los de mas supierõ su ausencia: pueyerõ a todo el reyno: q̃ so grãdes penas todos estuuiessen aparejados cõ sus armas pa todo tiempo q̃ el rey les mandasse seruir, haziendo a todos saber que su alteza se hauia ydo hazia las prouincias de Norfolc y Sofolc, q̃ estan hazia las partes maritimas de la vanda de Flandes, con intencion de poner el reyno en trabajos y guerras, y hazer venir a el estrãgeras

naciones a defender lo q̃ ella pretende contra la corona, especialmente estando el rey viuo y no fallescido como ella se persuade. Y coneste mandamiento todos se pusierõ en aparejar se. Despues dentro de tres dias tuuo su alteza auiso cierto de q̃ fuesse fallescido el rey. Y luego se hizo proclamar reyna en su casa, y en todos los lugares comarcanos. Y en algunos otros lugares no quisierõ los habitantes recebir su proclamaciõ por no saber la certinidad dela muerte del rey, & tambien porq̃ veyan q̃ todos los grandes del reyno se hauian cõjurado d' viuir & morir enla causa dela dicha doña Joanna. Y considerando esto los q̃ auiã recebido a su alteza por reyna estauan tã perplexos q̃ del todo pensauã ser perdidos por ella. Su alteza escriuio luego a todos los grandes del reyno particularmẽte, q̃ luego so pena de traydores viniessen todos a hazer su deuido: & a conocerla por su soberana reyna y señora. Y como casi todos los grandes estuuiessen con el duque d' Northumberland en la corte q̃ llamauã dela dicha donã Joanna en recibiẽdo alguna carta de su alteza dela reyna Maria, la presentauã en cõsejo: & alos mensajeros echauã en prisiõ, con amenazas de ahorcar los. Despues d' los. x. dela proclamaciõ de la dicha Joanna hasta los catorze o quinze siguientes acudieron a su alteza obra de cinco o seys Señores de salua: aun que eran delos menores del reyno, que como a tales el de Northumberland no les dio parte de su empresa. Y tambien le vinierõ a su alteza obra de xv. o veynte caualleros cada vno con la gente que oudo y con los villanos de aquellas dos prouincias formaron

vn cãpo de mas de hasta veynte mil hõbres. Y en muchas partes del Reyno fue la dicha Joanna proclamada por Reyna dos o tres vezes: a causa que en los mesmos lugares venian con mano armada los amigos de su alteza y la proclamaron Reyna: y despues que ellos eran partidos: por temor delos del consejo, los habitãtes destos lugares proclamarõ ala dicha Joana de nueuo y todos puestos en armas estauan en la mayor confusion del mundo. Luego que el de Northũberland y los demas del cõsejo supieron que su alteza se hauia hecho proclamar reyna: y que los dichos Señores de salua & Caualleros & aquellas prouincias se hauiã declarado en fauor de su alteza determinaron los del consejo de aqui, de hazer gente: y con toda la caualleria que tenia en su mano: que era la mas principal fuerça: por ser mas de tres mil de cauallo gente bien en orden y cõ obra de treynta carros de artilleria y municiones. Partio el dicho d' Northũberland la buelta dela reyna, y fue xl. millas de aqui: & assento su campo lleuãdo cõsijo casi todala guarda ordinaria del rey: en vn lugar que se dize Cambuche, que estaua treynt a millas d'la reyna: que estana enel castillo de Fremingã. El duque dexo enla fortaleza de esta ciudad a la dicha Joanna proclamada: y con ella a mas recaudo a su parescer al Duque de Sofolc su padre, & alos d'mas del consejo conjurados. Y por recelo q̃ el de Sofolc tenia delos del cõsejo, de que en ausencia del de Nortũberland no hiziessen algũa nouedad: no less suffria buenamẽte salir dela corte: aun hasta sus casas. Y assi el dicho duque d' Northumberland cõ el

mucho recaudo que le parescia hauia dexado cõ la Joãna: y cõ la grã fuerça q̃ hauia lleuado cõsigo, embio a dezir a los del cõsejo q̃ dentro de pocos dias traeria a su alteza presa o muerta: como a rebelde q̃ era, segun dezia: y cierto todos erã desta opiniõ: aunq̃ los q̃ se declararon de parte de la reyna estauã todos determinados de morir y viuir cõ su alteza. Y por animar a su gente, dos o tres dias antes q̃ se presumiã q̃ vernian a las manos los dos cãpos, mãdo su alteza q̃ todo su cãpo se pusiesse en ordẽ de batalla: y vino su alteza al cãpo a dõde todos mostraron cõ vozes & alaridos, arrojando hazia arriba los almetes & otras armas: & haziẽdo otras muestras d' plazer y mucho amor q̃ a su alteza teniã, diziendo. Viua nr̃a buena reyna Maria: y muerã traydores. Y a causa del mucho ruydo dela gẽte, y dela mucha salua del artilleria y arcabuzeria le fue forçado ala reyna apear se para ver el cãpo: porq̃ se spãtaua & açoraua mucho la caualgadura en q̃ venia, & a pie cõ los grãdes de su corte y sus damas, passeo todo el campo que durauã obra de vna milla, dãdo les gracias de su buena voluntad.

*Como el Duq̃ mãdo guardar el passo de Flandes por algunas naos, y como la gente dellas se alçaron contra sus Capitanes, y se sometieron al seruicio de la reyna Maria.*

Sabra V. S. q̃ el dicho Duq̃ de Northũberland hauia encomendado a sus mas fieles amigos las naos del rey, q̃

sõ muchas y muy poderosas, y las mãdo aparejar antes de la muerte del rey: como cosa en q̃ estaua la mayor fuerça d'ste reyno: y ꝑa effecto de aprouechar se de su amigo el Frãces como esta dicho, si le fuera necessario: y ꝑa defender se del Emꝑador si por algũa via le quisiesse yr ala mano: en fauor de su prima la reyna. Ha se dicho, y es cosa muy cierta q̃ el dicho de Northũberland no ouiera imaginado de emprẽder esto, por respecto del Emperador: sino q̃ como le parescio q̃ su Mag. hauia tenido tantos trabajos en Alemania: & q̃ estaua assegurado de su amigo el Frances: q̃ pornia al presente en todos los q̃ mas pudiesse a su Magestad hizo cuẽta q̃ era tiẽpo para poner en execuciõ sus desseos, y q̃ ni de ꝑte de su Magestad, ni de otra ningũa le podia venir fauor ala reyna, v q̃ saldria con su intencion. Pero temiẽdo de presente, segũ las cosas estauã q̃ su alteza no passasse en algun barco a Flãdes: proueyo q̃ las naos q̃ se hauiã aparejado fuessen seys, o siete dellas hazia los puertos donde la reyna estaua: y era la q̃ menos, de dociẽtos toneles: & otras eran de . cccc . o de quinientos. Y hauia en ellas hasta dos mil hombres, todos muy buena gente, & con esta diligencia le parescio q̃ estaua assegurado de hauer alas manos la persona dela Magestad dela reyna, teniendo la cercada por mar & por tierra: pero quiso nuestro señor q̃ los marineros de las seys, o siete naos, estãdo cerca de dõde estaua su alteza, por el amor natural que con su alteza tenian, se alçaron contra los capitanes dellas, en fauor de la reyna, & aportaron a vn puerto q̃

estaua cerca de alli, a deuocion de su alteza, con grãde salua & alaridos, diziẽdo : Viua viua nuestra reyna Maria. Y luego q̃ su alteza lo supo, proueyo q̃ la gente la fuesse a seruir : y q̃ lleuassen al campo la artilleria q̃ era mucha y buena. Y reforçado el cãpo de su alteza desta gente & artilleria : estauã animados de en breue yr se a ver cõ los del duque de Northumberland : y con buena esperança, segũ la justa causa que lleuauã, de correr lo por el reyno, hasta prẽder le a el & a los suyos.

*Como su alteza fue ꝑclamada por reyna de los del consejo, en la ciudad de Lõdres : & de la alegria et cõtentamiẽto de todo el pueblo : y como el duque de Northumberland y todos sus confederados fueron presos.*

En este tiẽpo el de Northũberlãd engrosso su cãpo tãbien, presumiẽdo q̃ cõ su caualleria desharia a los villanos : porq̃ no estauan muy armados. Los del cõsejo de Lõdres q̃ estauã como detenidos en poder de la Joãna y del duque d' Sofolc : como esta dicho, tuuierõ auiso d' q̃ estas naos dichas se huuiessen passado al seruicio de su alteza, y como quasi todas hauiã sido forçados de cõsentir enesta trayciõ : y considerãdo q̃ si a caso su alteza ouiesse vitoria : aunq̃ les parescia cosa dudosa, segũ lo q̃ se podia juzgar, q̃ seriã dignos de muchos trabajos en sus ꝑsonas & bienes, acordarõ visto q̃ el de Northũberlãd estaua enel cãpo, sin q̃ el de Sofolc, o la Joãna lo pudiessen estoruar,

de descubrir los vnos alos otros sus coraçones: y q̃ era cosa conueniẽte, q̃ no obstãte lo passado, q̃ declarassen y proclamassen a la buena madama Maria por reyna. Y puede V. S. cõsiderar enlos muchos trabajos q̃ este reyno se hallaua pocos dias, y en cõdiciõ de destruyrse todos y matarse cincuẽta o sesenta mil hõbres. Y assi todos cõformes lo declararõ ala dicha Joãna y su padre. Y como contra todos jũtos no pudierõ resistir, tuuieron paciẽcia. Y a los . xix . siguiẽtes de Julio, entre las tres y las q̈tro, fue proclamada su alteza. Dezir a V. S. la alegria q̃ el pueblo mostro desta nouedad, sobre las informaciones q̃ hauia q̃ seria muerta o presa, no lo podria yo ni ningũo por escripto ni de palabra dezir. Y como este acuerdo passo entre los del cõsejo: y como sin saber lo ningũo vinierõ ellos mesmos con los maceros a hazer en la plaça publica esta proclamaciõ. Fue tãto el cõtentamiẽto & alegria de todos: q̃ arrojauã quasi todos los bonetes al ayre perdidos: y todos los q̃ teniã dineros en sus bolsas, los arrojauã al pueblo. Otros siẽdo hõbres de autoridad y viejos, no se podian cõtener echãdo de si sus ropas, saltãdo y balãdo como si estuuierã fuera de seso. Otros yuan corriẽdo por las calles en dõde no hauia hauido noticia desta tã grã nouedad, gritando. Viua la reyna Maria. Y los q̃ lo oyã q̃dauã atonitos, q̃ no osauan alegrarse: porq̃ era peligro de muerte hablar en fauor della. Y luego q̃ por todo se supo, se hizierõ tãtos fuegos, q̃ era de ver: y ceno aq̃lla noche la gente en las calles, con grãde alegria & musicas. Y eran tantos los gritos & alaridos q̈ndo se

beuian por amor de la reyna, como aca lo acostũbran, q̃ parescia q̃ hauian salido todos deste mal mũdo, y q̃ hauian aportado ala gloria. Y luego fueron tantas postas por todo el reyno, que en breue se supo por todo. Y como V. S. puede considerar: todos los otros pueblos & villanos hizierõ lo mesmo. Es de marauillar el amor q̃ este pueblo tiene a esta señora, que cierto offenden a nr̃o señor en ello, porque la dexan de querer y la adorã. Pero como esta V. S. informado, en sus muchos & largos trabajos, ha sido tan paciente, tomando los todos como embiados de la mano de Dios: y su vida de tal exemplo y tã catholica, quel natural amor deste su pueblo, y estas cõsideraciones son causa dello. Luego que su alteza entendio tã buena nueua, hizo poner en la capilla vn Ecce homo. Que fue la primera que publico se hauia puesto algunos años hauia, y cantaron el Te Deum laudamus, y todos los de su corte dando gracias a Dios se pusieron en oracion, y dierõ de nueuo vozes, Dios guarde nuestra buena reyna Maria.

Al duque de Northumberland estando aparejado para poner en execucion el yr a cercar ala reyna: con tan poderoso campo como hauia llegado, despues de hauer se pregonado Capitan general por la Joanna: & hauiendo la proclamado reyna, y ala Magestad dela reyna bastarda y rebelde: vinieron estas miserables nueuas para el y para todos los suyos: & hallo se tan confuso, que luego mãdo pregonar a su alteza por reyna: y quito y rasgo con sus proprias manos la otra proclamacion de la Joanna, que

tan pocos dias hauia que la hizo proclamar y enclauar en los cantones de las calles publicas del pueblo donde estaua, y que brando con sus miserables y traydoras manos vna vara que el traya blanca, q̃ era su insignia de capitã general dixo. Viua la Reyna Maria; Y echo de si las armas manuales q̃ traya: & mãdo q̃ hiziessen lo mesmo los suyos, sometiẽdo se todos ala misericordia dela reyna. Y el dia siguiẽte se presentarõ enel dicho castillo dõde estaua su alt. muchos grãdes & caualleros, entre ellos vino el Marq̃s de Nortantona, q̃ enel tiẽpo q̃ V. S. estuuo se dezia Milorpar, hr̃no de la reyna vltima muger del rey Hẽrico. Y assi mesmo se presentarõ el grãde Almirãte q̃ se dize Milorchutõ, & Milorgree, & cõ ellos passados de . cxl . caualleros, y fueron tomados presos. De los del cõsejo de Lõdres q̃ estauã enla torre cõ la Joãna vinieron ala corte de su Alt. Cõ esta nueua dela ꝑclamaciõ el conde de Arãdel q̃ es vn señor de mucha estima, & de quiẽ creo V. S. se acordara, & delos buenos deste reyno, & con el Milorpajet, aquiẽ tãbien conosce V. S. A estos dos señores tuuo el de Northũberland presos mucho tꝑo, socolor q̃ hauiã sido delos cõjurados cõ el de Sumerset, y si ouiera hallado el menor indicio del mũdo, los ouiera puesto enel estremo: & despues se recõcilio conellos, portener quiẽ hiziesse mas cuerpo en sus trayciones, los q̈les cõ los demas aunq̃ por fuerça & por remostraciões como de amenazas: firmarõ & sellarõ la dicha conjuraciõ cõtra la reyna. Despues dio su Alte. cargo al dicho de Arãdel q̃ fuesse cõ mano armada a dar orden de q̃ el de

Northũberland, & los mas principales fuessen tomados presos, & q̃ estuuiessen a buẽ recaudo, lo q̈l el hizo, & los d'xo como cõuenia: enel dicho lugar de Cambrich. Y despues a los [ . ] del mes d' julio los mandaron venir presos a esta forteleza, cõ obra d' tres mil hõbres de guerra. Traxerõ cõ el dicho de Northũberland al cõde de Baruic su hijo mayor, & a otros dos hijos suyos, q̃ tãbien estauã con el enel cãpo, & a vn hr̃o suyo del dicho Duq̃, & al capitã dela guarda, & a otro q̃ se dize Milor Astings, & al cõde de Vntinton, & a otros: hasta en numero de onze p̣sonas. Y segũ estaua cõ ellos mal el pueblo, fue necessario q̃ la reyna mandasse pregonar que sopena d' ser castigados, q̃ dexassen passar pacificamente los presos, sin les dezir palabras injuriosas: y no ouo remedio, q̃ todo el pueblo gritaua. Mucrã traydores, y viua la reyna verdadera, y les tirauan algunas pedradas. Y sino fuera porla mucha guarda d' armados, no fuera possible lleuar lo viuo hasta la prisiõ. Despues dentro de dos dias traxerõ preso al Marq̃s de Nortantona, cõ otrosp̣sos, y en . x x x j . de Julio hizo su entrada la Mag. de la reyna, cõ tãta alegria del pueblo, quanta se puede pensar. Traya consigo hasta cinco mil hombres de guerra a cauallo: y passados de mil & quinientos cortesanos, con sus sayos de terciopelo y cadena el que menos, y otros ricamente atauiados. Y vino a aposentar se, con obra de cient damas a la torre donde estauan todos sus presos. Huuo tal salua de artilleria, que no se ha oydo de muchos años aca.

*De la orden que su Alteza mando dar enel enterramiento del rey su hermano.*

No se si V. S. haura entẽdido q̃ el d' Northũberlãd so color q̃ era la volũtad del rey, persiguia con mucha instãcia a su alteza, porq̃ tenia Missa publica en su casa, como la tuuo todo el tiẽpo q̃ pudo: y enla capilla ymagines, y en todo lo demas, como lo tiene la yglesia catholica: y como su alteza daua legitimas escusas, no se pudierõ en mucho tiẽpo desuergõçar con ella. Pero ala fin no supieron remediar lo, sino con embiar en nõbre d'l rey por sus capellanes, y les echaron en prision, y amenazaron q̃ los ahorcarian: porque dezian que quebrantauã los statutos, & assi ha estado su alteza obra de dos años sin Missa publica. Pero no obstante esto, como es tan catholica, como siempre lo han mostrado las obras: especialmente de presente como aqui dire, siempre la ha tenido secreto: sin que lo supiessen tres personas de las mas priuadas a lo mas, con occasion del mucho peligro que d'llo le podia venir. Agora como nuestro señor la ha traydo a tiempo de mostrar por obra lo q̃ tocaua al seruicio suyo, & hauiendo mãdado dar ordẽ enel enterramiẽto d'l rey su hño aquien Dios ꝑdone, hizo dezir la noche antes en su Capilla las horas de defunctos en latin, como se acostũbra en roma. Y el dia siguiẽte se cãto la Missa de Requiẽ: lo q̈l fue tãta admiraciõ pa el pueblo como las nouedades passadas: porq̃ los catholicos mos-

trauã vn nueuo gozo y los de la secta vna grã tristeza. Despues d'ẽtro de pocos dias se fue su alteza al castillo de Richamont, adonde depresente esta, con grã corte de grandes y damas deste reyno, q̃ han venido a hazer su deuido, & a besar las manos de su Alteza.

*Como el duque y su hijo cõ otros grãdes fueron condenados a morir.*

Despues en . xviij . deste mes de Agosto passado lleuarõ a juyzio al Duque de Northũberland, & como V. S. sabe, estos autos se hazen con grande autoridad hizierõ vn cadahalso enla gran sala del Osmestier, ricamente entapiçada, de grã magestad, y en el medio vn dosel rico, y debaxo vn assiento cõ ricas almohadas, con sus alhõbras alos pies: y venidos cõ sus maças & officiales: lo comissarios dela causa se assentaron como partes por la reyna. Y primeramẽte enel dicho assiẽto del dosel: se assento el duque de Norfolc sobre dicho, el qual presidia por aq̃l dia por la persona d' la reyna: y tenia enla mano vna vara larga blanca: q̃es insignia d' gra marichal, y este officio de antiguos tiempos han reseruado los Reyes para si: y dela vna parte y dela otra estauã assentados los grãdes del reyno, que estauan nombrados para ser juezes entre el delinquẽte y los comissarios cõforme ala ley. Y estos dichos juezes eran los q̃ el de Northũberland hauia dexado enla torre cõ la Joanna, o la mayor parte dellos.

Y luego fue mãdado q̃ fuesse presentado el preso: & assi truxerõ al dicho duq̃ de Northũberland, el q̈l haziendo tres reuerencias hasta el suelo antes de llegar al lugar donde hauia de estar, vino con buen semblante y denuedo lleno de humildad y grauedad. El dicho duque de Norfolc: a quien como esta dicho el hauia tenido preso tantos años: & todos los de mas grandes q̃ assistian al juyzio, a quien hauia pocos dias q̃ el mãdaua a su volũtad: estuuieron cõ mucha seueridad. Y el q̃ mas cortesia le hizo, fue tocar vn poco el bonete. Luego le fuerõ puestas tres accusaciones como traydor. La primera, si era verdad q̃ en . xviij . de Julio y despues se hallo en cãpo con mano armada contra la Mag. de la reyna, hauiendo sido su Alteza proclamada el mesmo dia en Londres, y enel reyno por reyna. La segũda, si se hizo pregonar el mesmo capitan general del. La tercera, si proclamo a la Joanna reyna enel cãpo & ala Mag. de la reyna bastarda y rebelde. Y por si negasse, estauan como dicho es, doze de aquellos nobles nõbrados cõforme ala ley deste reyno: para q̃ le juzgassen despues q̃ fuesse conuencido por los testigos: que seriã presentados. A lo qual todo respõdio el dicho de Northũberland q̃ era verdad y que lo confessaua: y q̃ se hallaua conforme a la ley cõdenado: y de compassion de ver en la miseria que se hauia puesto por ambicion de reynar, & doliendo se todos de si mesmos de la macula q̃ tenian, por la offensa que hauia cometido contra la reyna, por hauer consentido en la traycion: aunq̃ por fuerça como esta dicho: hartos dellos no se

pudieron contener de no llorar. Y como conoscio su peccado, no passo el juyzio de los dichos doze nobles, conforme ala ley. Suplico a todos rogassen ala M. de la Reyna, que no se acordasse de sus maldades, sino de su mucha clemencia: aun q̃ dezia que conoscia el caso tan graue q̃ no merescia misericordia. Pidio q̃ dos o tres del cõsejo viniessen a comunicar cõ el enla prisiõ sobre cosas secretas importãtes: q̃ cõueniã mucho el seruicio de su Alt. Suplicio a su Alt. le diesse q̈tro o cinco dias de tiẽpo para lo q̃ tocaua a su anima como se hizo. Fue por la ley condenado a ser arrastrado & ahorcado & antes de acabar morir, ser descolgado y d' sq̈tizado, echãdo el coraçõ & entrañas eñl fuego. El mesmo dia fue cõdenado por los mesmos terminos el marq̃s d' Nortanton: y el cõde de Baruic su hijo heredero del de Northumberland. Y al otro dia siguiente traxeron a juyzio al dicho su hermano del de Northumberlãd & al capitan dela guarda del rey, & vicecamarero mayor: que se dezia don Juan Gats, & a don Thomas Palmer, & a don Harri Gats hermano del dicho camarero, los quales confessaron assi mesmo ser condenados como los de mas.

*Como enla yglesia mayor se predico vn sermon, y del grãde alboroto que causo y como sacaron al Duque & otros dos a justiciar.*

Luego el domingo siguiẽte predico en sant Pablo principal yglesia desta ciudad, vn catholico y docto predicador,

& porq̃ en todos los años passados no les era permitido a los buenos el predicar: fue el pueblo a oyr lo: los buenos para su consolacion, y los desta secta por curiosidad. Y como comẽçaua a dezir el predicador, q̃ el obispo desta ciudad hauia estado pso . 4 . años por ꝑdicar la verdad sobre el sancto sacramento del altar y sobre otras cosas dela religiõ luego començarõ los hereges escãdalizados dela missa q̃ se hauia celebrado en la torre: de alborotarse: tirando o arrojãdo puñales al ꝑdicador: diziẽdo a grãdes vozes y gritos, mentis, q̃ no fuerõ sino cosas de ydolatria las q̃ ꝑdico y vos loays. E aunq̃ estauan alli la Justicia y regidores del pueblo no lo pudieron remediar: & tuuieron q̃ hazer en q̃ no matassen al predicador. Despues el primer dia q̃ se offrescio alli predicar: vinierõ alli los del consejo como cõ mano armada de treziẽtos o q̃trociẽtos alabarderos: y predico sin ningun rumor tã clara & catholicamente como lo pudieran hazer ay. Y este mal pueblo a vn clerigo q̃ d' zia missa en su perrochia, siguiẽdo el exẽplo d' la reyna: le apedrearõ y le desnudarõ las vestimẽtos: y dello se escãdalizarõ mucho los buenos: algunos estã presos dellos. Despues enlos . xxij . deste mes de Agosto dicho: sacarõ al duque de Northumberlãd & los dichos Capitã y Palmer: a que les fuessen cortadas las cabeças: vino tanta gente de cauallo y de pie q̃ era biẽ de ver: y cõ mucha curiosidad de oyr lo q̃ diriã: especialmẽte enlas cosas de la religiõ. Sacarõ los de la torre cõ grã guarda, por los rumores passados. Y puesto al duque sobre el

cadahalso, q̃ fue el primero q̃ padescio, allegãdo se a vna varanda cõ mucha humildad, & grã ser, a hablar al pueblo, como es costũbre. Y auiẽdo mucho silẽcio, dixo la substãcia destas palabras las q̈les yo oy por estar bien cerca del.

*Razonamiento q̃ hizo el Duque al pueblo, antes de morir.*

Sẽnores y amigos, yo he venido aq̃ a morir como veys: por hauer sido cõdenado por la ley, y os declaro y confiesso q̃ he grauemẽte offendido a Dios & os encomiendo mucho que rogueys a Dios por mi anima, & si a alguno enla cõpañia o ausente, a quiẽ yo aya offendido les pido perdõ. Y a esto respõdio todo el pueblo. Dios os p̃done. Y despues d' hauer silẽcio, dixo. Por la ley he sido cõdenado a ser arrastrado, ahorcado et desq̈rtizado: pero la Magestad d'la reyna, hauiẽdo la yo tã grauemẽte offendido, ha usado desta clemencia q̃ sea degollado: de lo qual le hago gr̃as: & haziẽdo vna reuerẽcia hasta poner la rodilla enel suelo, dixo. Y la suplico q̃ me quiera p̃donar porq̃ Dios perdone mi anima. Y dixo, q̃ aun era verdad que el hauia sido el principal, en poner en effecto las cosas: por las q̈les hauia sido condenado, q̃ era cosa cierta que lo hauia hecho por induzimiento de muchos: alos quales no queria nombrar, y que los perdonaua como queria de Dios ser perdonado. Y rogo al pueblo q̃ los tales de ninguno fuessen notados. Y

prosiguiẽdo en su platica, dixo. Hermanos no ignorays en los trabajos q̃ este reyno ha estado y esta, assi en algunos tiempos del rey Henrico, como despues hasta agora, todos los quales es cosa muy notoria: y soy cierto q̃ ninguno de vosotros lo ignora, q̃ hã succedido por hauer nos apartado dela verdadera ygl'ia catholica, & hauer creydo a falsos Prophetas, & a falsos predicadores: los q̈les nos hã ꝑsuadido sus falsas doctrinas & a mi como a principal offendedor enesto, y en lo demas: me hã traydo estas cosas enel estremo punto q̃ veys: como hã hecho a otros muchos como sabeys: por lo q̈l pido a dios perdõ: & os d' claro q̃ yo muero como vdadero & catholico chr̃iano: & cõfiesso y creo todo lo q̃ la ygl'ia catholica cree: & digo os amigos & hr̃os q̃ no se le de nadie a entẽder q̃ esta tã grande nouedad d' nueua cõsciencia, q̃ lo cause hauer se me encomẽdado de ꝑte de alguno: y esto dixo como de ꝑte dela reyna o q̃ ayi'a sido induzido d' algũ amigo, o q̃ este señor obispo cõ el q̈l estaua por cõfessor Vrseter: ıne aya enesto ꝑsuadido sino q̃ os lo digo como lo siẽto enlo intimo d'mi coraçõ, & como veys no estoy en tiempo sino de dezir verdad. Y assi os encargo muchos y os encomiẽdo q̃ no deys credito alos q̃ os han predicado tã falsa doctrina. E mirad hr̃os lo q̃ os digo: & no lo oluideys q̃ os encomiẽdo q̃ no tẽgays empacho ni verguẽça de tornar a dios, como veys q̃ yo no la tengo, y q̃ consydereys lo q̃ esta escripto en el Symbolo de los Apostoles. Creo en el Espũ sctõ et la sctã yglesia catholica: la comuniõ de los sanctos. Y aun q̃ soy ignorãte os podria

dezir mas sobre esto : pero vosotros lo podeys pensar y considerar con espiritu desapasionado. E si esto no os satisfaze : cõsiderad enlas miserias q̃ hã viuido et muerto tãta multitud en Alemania : los unos cõtra los otros : y q̃ hã sido suppeditados por auer dexado la catolica fe. Y assi dios los ha oluidado como ha hecho a nosotros. Y si esto no os mueue a sentir lo como yo os lo d'claro : tome se cada vna cuẽta particular & considere lo que ha passado cada vno en su estado. E si no esta de todo punto ciego, estoy seguro que verna en este mi verdadero conoscimiẽto : & assi os torno a encargar que os àbraceys con lo que cree la yglesia catholica, que es lo que el Espiritu sancto ha reuelado de mano en mano desde el tiempo delos Apostoles hasta nuestros dias, y sera hasta la fin. Y viuid con quietud : y sed obediẽtes ala Magestad dela reyna y a sus leyes ; & hazed lo que yo no he hecho.

*De que manera murio el duque, y los otros.*

Hauiendo dicho esto, quasi palabra por palabra como esta dicho : quitado d 'cabe la dicha varãda, se puso de rodillas en medio d'l cadahalso : & leyo vna oraciõ en vn libro q̃ el dicho su confessor Obispo le presento, y dixo el Credo en latin con mucha deuocion, y luego le quitaron los vestidos : y se puso vn paño en los ojos el mesmo, & al tiempo q̃ se hauia de echar sobre el madero, dõde le hauia de cortar la cabeça con vna hacha, hizo la señal de la cruz : lo qual fue muy odioso con lo que mas dixo. Y

porque el paño no estaua bien quãdo se yua a tender sobre el dicho madero, se torno a poner d' rodillas: y cierto se le representaua terrible temor de la muerte. Enel momẽto que se hauia de tornar atender, como quien se esforçaua y queria consentir cõpaciẽcia sin dezir nada: assi como se yua a tender perezosamente conel temor, dio con las dos manos vna palmada, como quien dixera, esto se ha de hazer: se arrojo sobre el dicho madero, en donde en vn golpe le corto el verdugo la cabeça: al qual plegue a nuesteo Señor tener en su sancta gloria. Y aun que fueron notoriamente muchas sus trayciones, su fin fue como verdadero y catholico christiano, & recibio la muerte con mucha paciencia. Y dos dias antes que le executassen, oyo Missa en la torre, y se confesso y comulgo, y con muchas lagrimas declaro al pueblo lo mismo que he dicho, que dixo enel cadahalso. Y sea V. Seño. cierto, que ha edificado al pueblo la confession del dicho Duque, mas que si todos los Catholicos de la tierra ouieran predicado diez años.

Luego aquel mesmo dia degollaron al dicho Capitan de la guarda: y al dicho don Palmer, estos dos murieron assi mesmo confessando la yglesia catholica: los quales remostraron al pueblo lo que el Duque: aunque no con tanto feruor, ni con tan larga platica. A los otros quatro q̃ digo q̃ estan condenados hasta agora no los hã executado, ni a muchos que han traydo a juyzio: creese que algunos padesceran: y q̃ otros hauran su perdon. La Joanna esta presa y su marido.

*Como la reyna mando proclamar que los Catholicos y hereges no se dixessen injurias los vnos a los otros y como mãdo a muchos perlados y grandes poner en libertad.*

En . xxiij . deste mes se dixeron las visperas publicas en la yglesia mayor desta ciudad, y en . xxiiij . dia de S. Bartholome dixo missa cãtada el obispo della: en põtifical, cõ su organo: y lo mesmo se comiença en sus perrochias, que verlo es estar en nueuo mũdo. Y como la magestad dela reyna siẽpre ha continuado sus oras: missa y visperas en corte: los demas cõeste exẽplo hazen lo mesmo. Y para euitar el escãdalo delos otros dias, como esta dicho se ha hecho vna proclamaciõ: q̃ manda la reyna q̃ todos viuã con quietud so pena de ser castigados: y q̃ seran tenidos por traydores, y q̃ viuan en caridad sin disputa los vnos cõ los otros y q̃ no se digã injurias como soliã los hereges a los catholicos Papistas: & los catholicos a ellos hereges. E si huuiere alguno q̃ dessea ser oydo sobre estas cosas q̃ d' buena volũtad sera admitido: en vna cõgregacion q̃ dios mediante se hara delos mas doctos deste reyno, assi d'la vna opinion como dela otra, & q̃ si su parecer fuere bueno sera recibido, & sino, q̃ alli sera satisfecho de su opiniõ & cõ la gracia d' dios q̃ lo que alli acordarã los dichos sabios: & cõforme al parecer d' los doctos d' otros reynos forasteros q̃ tomarã la orden q̃l espiritu sctõ alũbrara. Y q̃ en este medio sean obedientes, porq̃ no incurrã enel rigor d'la ley. Ha puesto tãto temor

esto enel pueblo: q̃ ni osan murmurar: ni hablar palabra: y estã como atonitos los hereges de ver lo q̃ passa: & q̃ veẽ lo q̃ ha d' ser, & q̃ los buenos q̃ son muy muchos mas, estan tan alegres q̃ no sabẽ de si: rogando a nr̃o señor guarde a la reyna, en la vida dela q̈l esta todo el brẽ o mal deste reyno. Su alteza puso en libertad luego q̃ vino ala torre: alos dichos obispos que estauan presos, & ala muger del Duque de Sumerset q̃ tambien estaua presa y como esta dicho: al duque d' Norfolc, y el mas cercano dela corona despues delos nombrados en el testamento del rey Henrrico. El q̈l le hauia mãdado echar preso de edad de seys años, & ha estado hasta agora q̃ es de veynte & quatro, el qual es hijo del marques de Exeter. Y este señor marques, y el conde de Montagud, q es hermano del cardenal, por hijos dela propria tia d'l rey y la mesma tia fueron degollados por las passiones y enojos q̃ con ellos concibio el rey: plegue a dios los tener en su sancta gloria a todos. Al obispo d' Vnchester que como digo su alteza mãdo luego poner en libertad, le ha creado su Magestad de la reyna grã Cãceller: q̃ es el mas supremo cargo que eneste reyno ay: como V. S. bien sabe: y el que es como Inquisidor mayor en las cosas tocantes a la religion. Es el hombre mas docto del Reyno: y digno de estar en tal cargo segun el juyzio de todos: por la mucha experiencia y saber delas cosas del Reyno. Tenemos mucha esperança en nuestro señor, que lo espiritual & temporal se reformara poco a poco. Y puede V. S. creer esto, porque lo se yo de buena parte: q̃

plaziendo a dios sera aqui como alla, assi enla obediencia del Papa, como enlo de mas. Y aun que enesto del põtifice estẽ los hereges muy obstinados, es la Reyna tan Catholica que se tiene por cierto, que no terna su alteza respecto a vellacos hereges: sino a su consciencia que es la verdad. Pero como estas cosas se han de hazer como V. S. vee con discrecion & tiempo, su Alteza espero en Dios que dara tal orden que sera dello seruido. La reyna se coronara Dios mediante el primero de Otubre, aparejanse grãdes fiestas. Despues solo restara que nuestro Señor la haga dichosa con algun bueno & Catholico marido. Bien se dize aca es muy lexos el Principe nuestro señor de ser tan bienaueuturado, assi porque se dize que se ha tratado casamiento cõ aquella señora de Portugal, o que se fenesceria: como porq̃ no se dize q̃ de parte del Emperador, ni de otro ninguno: q̃ se aya mouido esto. Bien ay algunos q̃ dizẽ q̃ podra ser q̃ se comuniq̃ de parte del principe d' Piamõte, pero yo no lo creo. Paresce q̃ no lo errarã el Emperador & su hijo si se aprouechã desta tã grãde cõmodidad, pues es de creer q̃ atrauessando tãto deudo, & siẽdo a dios gr̃as tã cõformes en la religiõ y no muy desiguales enla potẽcia, q̃ mouiẽdolo alguno q̃ podria venir en efecto si el negocio de Portugal no esta cõcluydo. E si este dia de tanta gloria nos dexasse nr̃o señor dios ver, q̃ beneficio tã grande succederia a nr̃a España en d' tener al Frãces, cõ estar estos reynos y los de su Mag. vnos, & aunq̃ no fuesse por mas de por conseruar los estados de Flãdes, lo hauian mas de dessear

su Mag. y su hijo porq̃ como V. S. mejor sabe: el dia q̃ nr̃o señor lleue ala gl'ia a su Mage. esta muy en condicion de q̃, o el Frãces le coja vn dia, o q̃ Alemanes se entrẽ por el, por estar el socorro d' España tã lexos & aun no esta la tr̃ra sin sospecha d' hazer algũ desordẽ, por lo delas cosas dela religion o porque no son muy deuotos de nuestra nacion: segun algunos dizen. Tambien para esta tierra vernia mas que a proposito porq̃ en caso que muriesse el hijo del Principe: a quien dios guarde: seria el hijo nacido aqui señor de todo: & ala verdad alos Ingleses estaria cõmodissimo. Y aun q̃ ellos naturalmẽte dessean q̃ sea su rey nascido aqui: consideradas todas estas cosas & otras, & q̃ el Frances se les ha d' entrar algũ dia por Escocia, a ellos les es oro todo: y especialmente hauiendo d' venir a viuir aqui el Principe & en Flãdes: y dexãdo alla vn hijo seria bien a proposito. Y de una cosa este V. S. certificado, q̃ todos los catholicos alçarian las manos a dios: porq̃ assi naturalmẽte quierẽ bien a su reyno, & naturalmẽte tienen amor a su Mag. & a España especialmente por el amor q̃ tuuieron ala buena Reyna Catholica: & son tantos los buenos: que para quatro hereges ay cien catholicos. Y estoy por dezir: el pueblo de aqui tiene mas amor con esta casa, q̃ los de Portugal, y en edad se differencian estas dos señoras de vn año, o año y medio de tiempo. Pues en la virtud & Christiãdad a todo el mundo es notorio que yguala con la mas acabada: y enlo de la quantidad tan differenciadas como V. S. bien sabe. Y aunque a mi no es dado tratar

de Principes, yo espero que V. S. lo tomara a la buena parte: por causar me lo el natural amor a mi soberano Señor & Principe: y el mucho que yo tengo a esta señora, por hauer me criado aqui muchos años: y por hauer siempre entendido particularmente por informacion de su mucha chr̃iandad & virtudes. Nuestro señor que lo puede todo hazer, el lo gouierne a su seruicio. Bien espero que V. S. no se desseruira con tanta prolixidad, por hauer sido la materia d' tal qualidad, que ha sido necessario hazer mencion delas cosas que escriuo. Y por no offrescer se otra cosa: cesso humilmente &c. De Londres el primero de Setiembre de M.D.Liij.

*Coronacion de la Inclita y Serenissima reyna*
*Maria de Inglaterra.*

El postrimero dia de Setiembre deste presente año de mil & quinientos & cinquenta y tres partio la Serenissima reyna Maria de Inglaterra, de torre para yr al palacio de Vesmester, porque otra dia siguiente se hauia de hazer su coronacion como se hizo, & la orden con que su Magestad salio, es la siguiente.

Primeramente yuan delante muchos gentiles hombres cortesanos y del reyno, vestidos todos d' ropas de seda con hermosos aforros, caualgando en muy hermosos & bien adreçados cauallos que la mayor parte dellos yuan encubertados de terciopelo hasta en tierra: despues delos quales yuan todos los varones y todos los Principes riquissima & superbamente adereçados, vnos de oro otros de plata y muchos dellos adereçados los cauallos con cubiertas delo mismo que sus personas, parte de oro y parte de recamado: que de mas dela mucha riqueza que en si tenian dauan grande admiracion por las nueuas y gentiles inuenciones que sacauan. Entre otros yuan Micer Jacobo Foscarino: Micer Marco Antonio Ferizo, Micer Marco Bernardo: Micer Jacobo Ragazoni, no menos adereçados que los otros, & otros quatro mercadantes, los quales yuan superbamente aderesçados: los quales lleuauan ropas de terciopelo negro aforradas con muy

hermosos aforros con muchas puntas de oro, & por guarnicion vn recamado todo a la redonda de mas de vn palmo de ancho. Y lleuauan assi mismo sayos d' terciopelo negro recamados de la misma manera como las ropas, y en la guarnicion de lo recamado tanto era lo lleno como lo vazio, lleuauan ansi mismo encubertados los càuallos del mismo terciopelo negro hasta en tierra cõ vn palmo de guarnicion de oro, & todas las de mas guarniciones delos cauallos yuan de esta manera, lleuauan cada vno dellos dos lacayos vestidos del mesmo terciopelo con cordoncillos de oro. Yuan detras destos quatro Caualleros Españoles vestidos con capas de terciopelo morado aforradas en tela de plata con vna muy excelente guarnicion de oro ala redonda, y en calças & jubon y coletos a la Española y gualdrapas enlos cauallos, q̃ parescian muy bien : ansi por su riqueza como por su gentil inuenciõ : & cada vno dellos lleuaua dos lacayos en cuerpo vestidos de la mesma manera. Yuan luego tras destos otros señores principales. Quatro embaxadores, vno del Emperador, otro del rey de Francia, otro del rey de Polonia, & otro dela señoria d' Venecia. Yuan luego dos con vestiduras Ducales, que representauan los dos ducados de Normandia & Gascuña ya poseydos desta corona. Luego venia su Magestad en vna litera descubierta por todos los lados, saluo del Palio : y toda ella cubierta de oro : juntamente conlas guarniciones de los cauallos que la lleuauan que era de la mesma manera : ala redonda dela litera a cauallo, la duquesa d' Denorfolc, la marquesa de Vincestre, & la condessa de

Arondelo vestidas de terciopelo carmesi con los cubiertas delos cauallos de lo mismo. Su Magestad yua marauillosamente adereçada: y el mãto era de plata y el tocado de oro cõ muchas & muy preciadas joyas de gran valor. Es su Magestad de treynta & ocho años, y hermosa sin par. Yua luego vn carro triumphal cubierto de plata, enel qual yua la dama Ysabel hermana de su Magestad: & madama Ana de cleues: muger que fue del Rey Henrrico, y despues repudiada del vestidas de plata, yuan luego otros dos Carros triumphales cubiertos de tela de oro, y en cada vno dellos quatro Princesas, & tras ellos sesenta señoras, & Damas a cauallo vestidas de terciopelo carmesi ricamente adereçados, & las cubiertas de los cauallos de lo mesmo, todo a costa de la Reyna. Y con aquesta orden caminaron por vna calle ancha & larga mas de milla y media, en la qual estauan muchos arcos Triumphales ricos y con gentiles inuenciones. El primero de los quales era hecho por la naciõ Ginouesa: el qual era el mas hermoso y bien hecho y mas espacioso de todos, por la nueua y gentil inuencion con que alos otros excedia, y sobre vn cerco del estaua vna Epigrãma en latin, desta manera. Marie Anglorum regine inclite, constanti, pie coronam Imperij Britãnici, & palmam virtutis accipienti: Genuenses publicã salutem in primis letantes, cultum tribuunt.

En otro cerco estaua otra Epigramma tal. Virtus superauit, iustitia dominatur, virtus triumphat, pietas coronatur: respublica restituitur.

Mas adelante estaua otro arco, de la nacion Florentina: pero no tan expacioso como el de la Ginouesa: el qual sobre el mas alto cerco tenia: Feliciter viuat. Pie Auguste Florentini glorie insigniaer exerunt.

Hauia otros muchos arcos Triumphales, hechos por los Ingleses demas de otro de la nacion Alemàna, delas tierras maritimas: de los quales no se haze aqui mencion particularmente por ser muchos y no de la calidad delos dos de que esta hecha mencion. La gente que estaua presente era infinita. Y su Magestad con esta orden, llego a palacio el primero dia de Octubre, a las onze horas del dia, adonde hauian salido a recebir a su Magestad onze Obispos con todos los Canonigos & Clerezia: y assi vinieron ala yglesia de Vesmester, a donde por su orden estauan los Embaxadores. Venia su Magestad acompañada de todos los Principes, y señores del Reyno, cada vno en su habito, conuiene a saber, el Duque con vestidura Ducal, el Marques de Marques, el Conde de Conde: y sus mugeres de la misma manera, y con la misma differencia, adonde estaua vn cadahalso, q̃ subian por el veynte gradas, y en lo alto del otro mas alto que subiã a el por diez gradas donde estaua vna silla a donde subio su Magestad y se assento en ella. Y luego leuantando se, la lleuo de braço el Obispo de Vincestre gran Chanciller por todas quatro partes del cadahalso para que todo el pueblo la viesse, el qual Obispo dezia en alta voz que se pudiesse oyr. Es esta la verdadera heredera deste Reyno? y todo el pueblo respondio a bozes, & con alegria. Si si.

Repleaua. Soys contentos de recebilla por reyna y señora? Respondieron. Si si. Lo qual acabado su Magestad se fue al altar a oyr el sermon: el qual acabado tendida en tierra le echaron las bendiciones con muchas oraciones, & luego entro en vn lugar apartado, y se desnudo el manto que tenia de terciopelo carmesi aforrado en armiños & torno al altar en cuerpo & otra vez se tendio en tierra. Y estando assi le cantaron las letanias hauiendo le echado la bendicion ala ropa que hauia de lleuar: y luego se començo la vncion, y fue vngida en el pecho y enlas espaldas y frente y enlas sienes: y despues le vistieron vn Roquete de tafetan blanco, y le calçaron vnas espuelas y le ciñeron vna Espada como a los q̃ armã Caualleros, & la pusieron en la mano vn Ceptro real de Rey, & luego otro que se acostumbra a dar alas Reynas que tenia enlo mas alto del vna Paloma & finalmente la dieron vn pomo de Oro grande & la coronaron con tres Coronas. Una del Reyno de Inglaterra & otra del Reyno de Francia, & otra del Reyno de Yrlanda. Y luego la vistieron otro manto de carmesi diferente de el primero, aunque era del mesmo tercio pelo carmesi & aforrado en armiños. E assi vestida se torno a sentar en la silla arriba dicha: a donde vinieron por ordẽ todos los grandes del Reyno a hazella omenage teniendo siempre su Magestad en la mano los dos Ceptros reales arriba dichos. Y entonces su Magestad mando dar libertad a todos los presos excepto aquellos que estauan en Torre, y perdono generalmente a todos aquellos que la houiessen ofendido.

Y luego dixo Missa el Obispo de Vincesto con mucha solemnidad, estando siempre su Magestad de rodillas, con grande deuocion, y grandes señales de religion: la qual acabada, se entro enel sobredicho lugar apartado, & torno presto a salir con el mundo en la mano, y cõ el ceptro Real, vestida de vn manto de terciopelo pauonadõ, aforrado de armiños con la capilla redonda, como suelen traer los Reyes. Desta manera salio dela yglesia acompañada de los Principes y Embaxadores, y fue a pie cerca de alli a vna gran sala, a donde estauan las mesas esplendida y realmente aparejadas, conforme a la magnificencia y grandeza de tan gran Reyna. Estaua en la dicha sala, quando su Magestad llego a ella el Conde de Arabi, con la maça en la mano, como gran Condestable del Reyno, elegido para aquel officio, solamente por aquel dia, y el Duque de Narpholes como gran Senescal, entrambos a dos a cauallo, con cubiertas de brocado: los quales anduuieron siempre ala redonda de la sala, como se acostumbra en aquel Reyno en la coronacion de los Reyes: & en medio de la comida, vino vn cauallero todo armado de armas blãcas, con vn sayo de armas, y las cubiertas del cauallo todo de oro & carmesi, y hizo leer vn cartel de desafio, que dezia. Qual quiera que fuesse osado de contradezir que aquella no fuesse la verdadera Reyna de aquel reyno le haria conocer lo contrario, o la mataria: y echado el guãte dio buelta a toda la sala, y boluio delante la Reyna, y dixo con voz alta. Que atento que no hauia persona que ossasse contradezir le, ni aceptar su

desafio, el la saludaua como a verdadera y heredera Reyna de aquel Reyno. Su Magestad agradesciẽdo le que el ouiesse sido su Cauallero y deffensor, le dio vna copa de oro en que su Magestad beuia llena de vino para que beuiesse y se la lleuasse. Acabada esta ceremonia acostumbrada enel reyno de Inglaterra enla coronacion de qualquier Rey, vinieron los Embaxadores & fueron todos a besar las manos de su Magestad & a dalle el para bien de su coronacion. La qual por su magnificiencia & grandes virtudes que della se conoce meresce ser ygualada a las mayores, y mas excelentes reynas que hasta oy a hauido: & sabe se por cierto que se gastaron en la dicha coronacion a costa de su Magestad mas de cient mil ducados. Y no es tanto de ponderar la summa del gasto, quanto la orden, el tiempo, & las cerimonias bien hechas todo ordenado, y reglado con gran prudencia & consejo: en manera que este reyno y esta magnanima reyna han dado amplissima materia alos escriptores que quisieren escriuir.

Fue impressa la presente obra enla muy noble villa de Medina del Campo, en la imprenta de Matheo y Francisco del Canto hermanos. Acabo se a veynte y tres dias del mes de Março Año de 1554.

*A most true relation of Antonio de Guaras, servant of the most serene and Catholic Queen of England, to the illustrious Lord the Duke de Alburquerque, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Navarre, etc.*

*Wherein is treated in what miseries and calamities and deaths of great men this kingdom has been these many years.*

*How the Lady Mary was proclaimed Queen and obeyed by all, and of her coronation, etc.*

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

I have not written to your most illustrious Lordship on some things which have occurred in this country, even though many and great events have come to pass since your Lordship's departure from hence, deeming it certain that you would be informed of them by way of the Court, and also omitting this for fear lest your Lordship should mislike my boldness. And now, since it may be that neither by way of the Court nor any other you have received so particular an account of the great mutations in this kingdom as by this my letter, it has seemed to me that your Lordship should rather be advantaged than displeasured thereby.

As your Lordship has knowledge, King Henry named expressly by his will sixteen of the nobles of this kingdom, that all might govern jointly, and that nothing of importance might be determined without the consent of all. And straightway upon the death of the King, whom God forgive, by the opinion and consent of all, and against the express injunction of the said will, they named as Protector of the Kingdom and of the person of the King's son and successor, the Earl of Hertford, whom your Lordship knew, uncle of the said King Edward on the

mother's side, who was afterwards created Duke of Somerset: and the most intimate friend of the said Duke of Somerset was the Earl of Warwick, who was Admiral at the time that your Lordship was here, and was afterwards Duke of Northumberland. These Dukes, seeing before King Henry was dead that his condition was desperate, by reason of the closing of an issue in his leg; and that the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, so intimate a friend and acquaintance of your Lordship, might oppose the said Dukes in the government, plotted to remove them, alleging that the son had painted a certain escutcheon with coats of arms, among which was a piece of the royal arms, and that this was an evident proof that he designed to make himself King; wherefore he was beheaded although most innocent: and they condemned the father to perpetual imprisonment, alleging that he had known this and not divulged it, insomuch that the said Duke has been in confinement more than seven years. The aforesaid Duke of Somerset had a brother who was High Admiral of the Kingdom, and also uncle of the King, and so great were the animosities between these brothers by the contrivance of Northumberland, who upheld and counselled Somerset in all things, that Somerset arrested the said Admiral, and without any form of trial he was taken from prison to the scaffold, and beheaded, amid great murmurs of the people that he should receive such cruel usage at the hands of his own brother. After this, the two confederate Dukes, deeming

that none would withstand them in affairs of State, agreed to their shame to allow the sect which has since prevailed in this kingdom to preach to the people, both because they were themselves of this opinion and from seeing the people inclined to it, permitting all the heretics of other countries to resort hither. And so many have come, and preached so confusedly both as touching ceremonies as all else, that there was a diverse service in every parish; although the majority of the English think otherwise, being Catholics. Yet not to incur the grievous penalties which had been enacted, they dissembled, and murmured that these disorders would be the cause of the perdition of the said Dukes and preachers, and of their followers. And so it came to pass that the Duke of Somerset, on occasion of contentions which afterwards arose respecting the government, designed to arrest the Duke of Northumberland; but as Northumberland was a man of great courage, and knew that Somerset was insignificant and poor in spirit (as he surely was), he contrived that many of the nobles should take his side, informing them of treasons which the Duke of Somerset had committed, as he affirmed, in surrendering Boulogne and other fortresses into the hand of the French; as also that it was not fitting for the person of the King to be in the power of so questionable a guardian. Somerset learning this withdrew to the castle of Windsor with an armed force, carrying the King with him, and declaring Northumberland and his confederates traitors. But so many were the nobles who adhered to the party of North-

umberland, and so many they who deserted Somerset, that at length the few who remained with him arrested him in his own stronghold, and thus delivered the King out of his power, and brought him and some others of his company to this city along with some three or four thousand soldiers, crying, "Death to traitors." After this the two Dukes agreed that to quiet all animosities, Northumberland's son and heir, the Earl of Warwick, should espouse the eldest daughter of the Duke of Somerset, which was done, and Somerset was set at liberty, and great feasts were made, and the two kinsmen took the government, showing in outward seeming much attachment for each other. But in course of time malicious persons were not wanting to represent to Somerset the tribulations which he had endured from Northumberland, and that it became him to avenge himself. And both on this account and from the fresh enmities which he conceived under the new government, the Duke of Somerset resolved upon a plot to slay Northumberland at a banquet to be prepared for him in Somerset's house. And a knight among his accomplices in this conspiracy, whose name was Sir Thomas Palmer, revealed the conspiracy to the Duke of Northumberland, who, dissembling, sent to summon Somerset in the name of the whole Council, and immediately he was taken and sent to the Tower, and many nobles were arrested on his account. Afterwards he was brought to public trial, where he was accused of treason, of which he was acquitted; but on the accusa-

tion of plotting the death of Northumberland was found guilty. And your Lordship must know that the said Duke of Somerset, when Protector, fearing lest any should conspire against him, ordained with the authority of Parliament, that whosoever should contrive the death of any noble of the kingdom by word of mouth or in any other manner, even though he might not have put his design into execution, should be liable to the penalty of death; and also they to whose knowledge it should come, unless they should immediately disclose it to the Council, or to the nearest magistrate. And by this law Somerset was condemned for having communicated his design by word of mouth, although he had not accomplished it. And although he was acquitted of treason, the Duke of Northumberland prevailed to make an end of him on the other charge. And the matter being so trivial, it was held for certain in all men's esteem that the King would pardon him: and when the people were as it were assured of this, the night before the Duke of Somerset suffered, the Duke of Northumberland secretly sent to command the principal inhabitants to forbid their domestics from resorting to the place where execution was to be done; and that morning, three or four hours before the accustomed time, they took him from the Tower to the scaffold and beheaded him, although many of the people who had come to behold, notwithstanding the said prohibition, made a great outcry, as though they would have delivered him. But the halberdiers, of whom there were many, did

not stir, and Somerset himself said to the people, "Friends, have patience, and be content with the King's commands," and herein he showed his want of spirit, for if he had cast himself from the scaffold, or struggled with the executioner, assuredly he had not died there, being held of no chains or bonds, it being the custom to exempt noblemen from these when they are led to the scaffold, and the guard of halberdiers and the others would have connived at his escape on account of the favour of the people. But in sooth the blood of his brother the Admiral cried against him before God; and worst of all was his exhorting the people to embrace the heresy they had among them, persuading them that this was the true religion; and this is the principal reason why the people loved him, and also because they saw that Northumberland would rule tyrannically. And within fifteen days two gentlemen were beheaded and two others hanged who were among the principal of this kingdom, and of those who had conspired with Somerset.

*How the Duke of Northumberland governed alone, and possessed himself of all the treasure of this kingdom; and how he caused the Lady Jane his daughter-in-law to be proclaimed Queen; and the Queen Lady Mary to be publicly declared illegitimate.*

I have made mention of all this in this letter that your Lordship may see the due order of the elevation of Northumberland, who has governed until now with such quietness that all the other nobles of the realm have obeyed him as if he had been the true King. And considering that he was the principal instrument of the Earl of Surrey's execution, and of his father the Duke of Norfolk being imprisoned for life, and the King's uncles the Admiral and the Duke of Somerset decapitated, and that he had cast the Bishops of London and Winchester and Durham and Worcester and Chichester into prison, and deprived them of their benefices, as well as many other learned and Catholic men, for having refused to swear or consent to the ordinances of the schism, he determined to provide how he might deliver himself from the many troubles which it was to be foreseen might overtake him on these accounts as soon as the King should be of age to govern. And to obtain this end he called a Parliament, in which was enacted whatsoever served his purpose; and he especially procured in the King's name to collect all the money he could, which was

in the hands of the treasurers, and for more than twenty months he caused that the King paid neither his servants nor his creditors, all the treasure being in the Duke's power, and the whole kingdom being impoverished. They ordered that all the silver crosses and chalices in the churches, an inventory of which had been made already, should be delivered for the King's service for greater security, and so it was done. And your Lordship may well deem that this came to a great amount throughout the entire kingdom. He caused London and other cities to put all their ammunition and artillery into the King's hands. He bought in all parts all the weapons he could procure, rather to disarm the people, than because his own followers had any want of them. He dismantled all castles, of which, as your Lordship knows, there are many in the ports of this kingdom. He took to himself all the war-horses, which are numerous, and in which all the strength of this kingdom consists. In the same Parliament he levied great imposts and subsidies. And having done this and other such like things for his purposes, he resolved, as has been bruited, to kill the King by poison; and the poor innocent languished for seven months. They say that he made a close league with the King of France, and great promises to deliver Calais and Guines to him in return for his alliance. He caused the King to bequeath his kingdom to the daughters of the Duke of Suffolk, which duke was married to the Lady Frances, daughter of King Henry's second sister, who had

before been married to King Louis of France, and afterwards to the other Duke of Suffolk, whom your Lordship knew, by whom she had this Lady Frances. And the said Northumberland wrought so much with the King and the nobles that they were not ashamed to declare publicly that her Highness was illegitimate: and that, both on this account and for her being (as they called it) a Papist, which name they have given to the Catholics, and designing to marry a foreign prince, she might be rightfully disinherited. And as he was sure of the death of the King, he procured that Jane, the elder daughter of the aforesaid Duke of Suffolk and Lady Frances, should marry his third son, in order that in right of his wife this son, who is called Lord Gilbert, might come to be King. And he gained over some by fear, and others by promises, and others by gifts, in such a manner that all the nobles of the kingdom sealed and subscribed the said ordinance, together with the King's testament, the King being still living. And this came to pass on the twenty-first of June, and the Mayor of London did the like, and the aldermen and men of law. And after this it pleased God that the King should die on the sixth of July: may He have him in his glory! And Northumberland, seeing this, and deeming that he had the King of France for his ally, and held the nobility of

Her Highness is the Queen Lady Mary, daughter of King Henry and Queen Catharine, who was sister of Queen Joanna, the mother of our Lord the Emperor Don Carlos (Charles V.).

the realm captive, and that all had consented to this treason, determined to make the King's death public: and on the tenth of the same month Lady Jane was proclaimed queen in this city and in other parts of the kingdom with a great display of heralds and halberdiers, and great salutes of cannon from the Tower. And the people, amazed at this great innovation, gazed at one another as astonied: and they cut off at the root the ears of one who demanded why the Lady Mary should not be queen, and made great show of heralds to intimidate the people. In all these things the Duke of Northumberland showed great astuteness and sagacity, but in the most important of all the Lord blinded him; and this was wherein he was more confident; and he deemed that doing as he did he had in his power at any time the Lady Mary, who is now Queen, who was with fifty or sixty servants at twenty-five miles' distance: and he designed to send for her Highness to come to London to visit Lady Jane who had been proclaimed queen, and to acknowledge her as such. And as he knew that her Highness would not do so of her own consent, he had ready five hundred cavalry soldiers to bring her, and to make her prisoner if she refused, and afterwards he would have done to her as he had done to the King.

*How her Highness, on learning the death of the King her brother, caused herself to be proclaimed Queen in her own house: and how she took the field with her people, encouraging them for the battle.*

As the Queen had been aware for more than a year of the evil designs of Northumberland and his people, like a most discreet person as she is, she dissembled with him, and he almost daily wrote her Highness letters full of respect, informing her of the grievous sickness of the King, but that if God ordered other than well with him he himself would manifest by his deeds the attachment and fidelity which he protested he entertained towards her Highness. But the Queen's majesty, temporizing with him, and replying that she held him for most faithful, did what was meet for the time, surely by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit. And two days before the King's death, being the fourth of July, she went by night with great speed forth from her residence for about sixty miles, accompanied only by her servants, feigning that she changed her habitation on account of three or four sick people in her house. And as soon as Northumberland and his partisans knew of her withdrawal they proclaimed throughout the whole kingdom that under great penalties all should be ready with their weapons for any time that the King should command them to serve, informing all that her Highness had gone towards the provinces of Norfolk and Suffolk, being the

coast opposite Flanders, with intent to involve the kingdom in troubles and wars, and bring in foreigners to defend her pretensions to the crown, especially as the King was alive and not dead as she persuaded herself. And upon this proclamation all put themselves in readiness. Within three days her Highness had certain notice of the death of the King. And immediately she caused herself to be proclaimed Queen in her house, and in all the country round about, and in some places the inhabitants would not receive her proclamation, being ignorant of the certainty of the King's death, and also seeing that all the nobles of the kingdom had bound themselves to live and die in the cause of the aforesaid Lady Jane. And, considering this, they who had acknowledged her Highness as Queen were so dejected that they fully deemed that they would be ruined on her account. Her Highness forthwith wrote to all the nobles of the kingdom severally that under pain of being accounted traitors they should all come to do her homage and acknowledge her as their sovereign Queen and mistress. And as almost all the nobles were with the Duke of Northumberland in what they called the court of the said Lady Jane, each on receiving any letter of her Highness Queen Mary presented it in the Council, and the messengers were cast into prison, with threats that they should be hanged. From the tenth of July, the day of the proclamation of the said Jane, until the fourteenth or fifteenth following, not more than about five or six persons of rank adhered to her

Highness, and these among the most insignificant of the kingdom, to whom, as such, Northumberland had given no part in his undertaking. And also about fifteen or twenty knights came to her Highness, each with such people as he could bring, and with the peasants of those two counties they formed a force of upwards of twenty thousand men. And in many parts of the kingdom Jane was proclaimed two or three times over, inasmuch as the friends of her Highness came to these places in arms and proclaimed her Queen, and as soon as they were departed the inhabitants, for fear of the Council, proclaimed Jane anew, and all were in arms in the greatest confusion in the world. As soon as Northumberland and the rest of the Council knew that her Highness had caused herself to be proclaimed Queen, and that the said persons of distinction and gentry of those two counties had declared in her favour, they resolved to make a levy, and Northumberland departed to encounter the Queen with all the cavalry he had, in which his chief strength lay, being more than three thousand horsemen well equipped and about thirty pieces of cannon and ammunition waggons. And, taking with him almost all the royal body-guard, he pitched his camp in a town called Cambridge, thirty miles' distance from the Queen, who was in the castle of Framlingham. The Duke left Jane who had been proclaimed queen in the Tower of London, and with her, for her surer custody as he deemed, the Duke of Suffolk her father, and the other lords of the Council who had entered into the conspiracy.

And for the fear which the Duke of Suffolk had of them of the Council, lest in the absence of Northumberland they should cause a revolution, he would not suffer them to go out of the Court, even to their own houses. And thus Northumberland, confiding in the great provision he had made for the security of Lady Jane, and in the great force which he had taken with him, sent to tell the lords of the Council that within a few days he would bring her Highness captive or dead, like a rebel as she was, as he said. And assuredly all thought so too, although they who had declared themselves on the Queen's side were all resolute to live or die with her Highness. And, to encourage her people, two or three days before the armies were expected to engage, her Highness commanded that all her host should put itself in battle array, and came to the camp, where all, with shouts and acclamations, casting their helmets into the air, and with many other tokens, showed their joy and the great love they bore to her Highness, crying, "Long live our good Queen Mary," and "Death to traitors." And by reason of the great outcry of the people, and the many discharges of artillery and arquebusses, the Queen was obliged to alight to review the troops, for the fright and much rearing of the palfrey she rode : and she inspected the whole camp, which was about a mile long, on foot, with her nobles and ladies, thanking the soldiers for their good will.

*How the Duke ordered the seas Flandersward to be guarded by certain ships, and how the sailors rose against their captains, and submitted themselves to the service of Queen Mary.*

Your Lordship must know that the Duke of Northumberland had entrusted the King's ships, which are many and very powerful, to his most faithful friends, and commanded them to be equipped before the King's death, as the thing in which the strength of the kingdom did mainly consist: with design to profit by his ally the French King, as has been said, should this be necessary, and to defend himself against the Emperor should he attack him in any way in support of the Queen his cousin. It has been said, and is most certain, that Northumberland would never have imagined his undertaking, for awe of the Emperor, had he not thought that his Majesty had such troubles in Germany, and for the assurance he had from his confederate, the King of France, that he would do all he could to hinder his Majesty, he reckoned that it was the time to accomplish his desires, and that neither from his Majesty nor from any one else could aid come to the Queen, and that his design would prosper. Yet, having a present fear as things then stood lest her Highness should pass in some vessel to Flanders, he provided that six or seven ships should proceed to the parts where the Queen was, and the last of these was of two

hundred tons, and the others of four or five hundred. And the crews numbered about two thousand men, all sailors of the best, and with this precaution he deemed himself certain to lay hands on the person of the Queen's majesty, holding her surrounded by sea and land. But our Lord willed that the seamen of these six or seven ships, being near in her Highness's neighbourhood, from their natural love towards her, rose against their captains in favour of the Queen, and put into a neighbouring port which was loyal to her Highness, crying with great salvoes and acclamations, "Long live our Queen Mary!" And as soon as her Highness was apprised of this, she took order that the people should come to serve her, and bring to her camp their cannon, which were many and powerful. And her Highness's army being reinforced by them and their artillery, were comforted shortly to go and encounter those of the Duke of Northumberland's party; with good hope, in virtue of the just cause which they maintained, to chase him throughout the kingdom, until he and his should be made captive.

*How her Highness was proclaimed Queen by the Lords of the Council in the City of London: and of the joy and contentment of all the people: and how the Duke of Northumberland and all his confederates were made prisoners.*

At this time the Duke of Northumberland on his part was reinforcing his army, weening to disperse the peasants with his horse, for they were ill-armed. They of the Council at London, who were as though prisoners in the power of Lady Jane and the Duke of Suffolk, as has been said, had tidings how the aforesaid ships had passed over to the service of her Highness, and as almost all had only consented to this treason under constraint, and considering that in case her Highness should have the victory, though to the best of their judgment this seemed an uncertain thing, they would be liable to many troubles in their persons and possessions, seeing also that Northumberland was in the field, and that Suffolk and Jane could not hinder them, they resolved to open their bosoms to one another, and determined that it was fitting, notwithstanding the past, to declare and proclaim the good Lady Mary Queen. And your Lordship may consider the many troubles in which this kingdom found itself within so few days, and in such condition that all might be ruined, and fifty or sixty thousand men slain. And thus they all with one consent declared to Jane and her

father. And as these could not resist all the others combined, they took patience. And on the following day, the nineteenth of July, between three and four of the clock, her Highness was proclaimed Queen. To tell your Lordship the joy which the people showed at this revolution, after the tidings it had had that the Queen would be slain or made captive, is more than I or any man could do by pen or tongue. And as this agreement had been made among the Lords of the Council, and as without any warning they came with their macebearers to make the proclamation in the public square, the content and joy of all were such that almost all cast up their caps into the air without caring to recover them, and all who had money in their purses threw it to the people. Others, being men of authority and in years, could not refrain from casting away their garments, leaping and dancing as though beside themselves. Others ran through the streets to places whither the news of this great event had not come, crying, "Long live Queen Mary!" And they who heard it remained astonied, and dared not rejoice, for it was under peril of death to speak in favour of the Queen. And as soon as it was known everywhere such bonfires were made that it was a sight to see, and that night the people supped in the streets, with great rejoicing and music. And so great were the cries and acclamations when they drank for love of the Queen, as is the custom here, that it seemed as if all had escaped from this evil world, and alighted in Heaven. And immediately so

many posts were sent throughout the kingdom that the news was shortly known everywhere, and, as your Lordship may suppose, all other townsmen and the country folk did likewise. It is marvellous what love this people entertain towards this Lady, insomuch that of a surety they offend our Lord in this, that their love becomes idolatry. Yet, as your Lordship is aware, in her many and long-continued troubles she has been so patient, taking them all as sent by the hand of God, and her life has been so exemplary and catholic, that the natural love of this people and these considerations are the cause thereof. As soon as her Highness heard the good news she caused a crucifix to be placed in her chapel, being the first which had been set up publicly for several years, and Te Deum was sung, and all her Court giving God thanks went to prayers, and cried, "Amen; God save our good Queen Mary!"

These tidings, so dismal for Northumberland and his party, came to him while he was preparing to take the field and go to besiege the Queen with the powerful force he had brought, after having caused himself to be declared Captain General by the Lady Jane, and having proclaimed her queen, and the Queen's majesty a rebel and a bastard. He was so thunderstruck that he immediately ordered her Highness to be proclaimed Queen, and took down and tore with his own hands the proclamation of Jane which so few days before he had caused to be published and posted at the corners of the streets of the town wherein

he was, and waving with his miserable and treasonous hands a white truncheon which he bore, being the ensign of a captain general, he cried "Long live Queen Mary!' And he cast away the weapons which he wore, and ordered his people to do the same, all submitting themselves to the Queen's mercy. And the next day many nobles and knights presented themselves in the castle where the Queen was, among them the Marquis of Northampton, who at the time that your Lordship was here was called Lord Parr, brother of the queen the last wife of King Henry. And also came the High Admiral, who was called Lord Clinton, and Lord Grey, and with them more than a hundred and forty knights, and these were detained in custody. On the part of the Council of London who had been in the Tower with Lady Jane, came to her Highness's Court with news of her proclamation the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of much worship and among the good men of this kingdom, whom I think your Lordship will recollect, and with him Lord Paget, also known to your Lordship. The Duke of Northumberland had kept these two noblemen imprisoned for a long time, under pretext that they had conspired with Somerset, and if the least evidence in the world could have been found, he would have proceeded to extremities against them; and afterwards he was reconciled with them, deeming thus to gain more accomplices in his treasons, and they with the rest, although by force and under the pressure of threats, signed and sealed the aforesaid con-

spiracy against the Queen. After this her Highness gave commission to the said Arundel to go with armed men and take order that the Duke of Northumberland and his chief partisans should be apprehended and kept in safe custody, which he performed, and bestowed them as was fitting, in the aforesaid town of Cambridge. And afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of July, they were commanded to be brought prisoners to the Tower, guarded by about three thousand soldiers. With the said Duke of Northumberland were brought the Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, and two other of his sons, who had also been with him in the camp, and a brother of his, and the captain of his guard, and another nobleman called Lord Hastings, and the Earl of Huntingdon, and others, in all about eleven persons. And since the people were evilly disposed towards them, it was needful for the Queen to proclaim that under pain of punishment they should allow the prisoners to pass peaceably without reviling them, and there was no hindering the people crying, "Death to the traitors, and long live the true Queen!" and flinging some volleys of stones at them. And had it not been for the strong guard of soldiers, it would not have been possible to bring Northumberland to prison alive. Within two days afterwards the Marquis of Northampton and others were brought in prisoners, and on the thirty-first of July her Majesty the Queen made her entry, amid all imaginable joy of the people. She brought with her about five thousand soldiers on horseback, and more than fifteen hundred courtiers, the

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least of whom wore a velvet suit and chain, and others were arrayed sumptuously. She took up her lodging, with about a hundred ladies, at the Tower, where all her prisoners were in confinement; and there was such a discharge of ordnance, that the like has not been heard there these many years.

*Of the order which her Highness willed to be taken in the burial of the King her brother.*

I know not whether your Lordship may have heard that the Duke of Northumberland, under pretext that such was the will of the King, persecuted her Highness with great oppression because she heard mass publicly in her house, as she did as long as she could; and had images in her chapel, and did in all things according to the tenets of the Catholic church: and as her Highness gave legitimate excuses they could not for a long time find occasion to shame themselves by molesting her. But at length they could find no remedy but to summon her chaplains in the King's name, and cast them into prison, and threaten to hang them, alleging that they infringed the statute, and thus her Highness has been about two years without hearing mass in public. Yet, notwithstanding this, being so good a Catholic, as her works have always made manifest, especially at this present, as I will now declare, she has always had mass in secret, unknown to more

than three of the most confidential persons at the utmost, by reason of the great danger that she might have incurred thereby. Now, our Lord having delivered her in season to show by her works what belongs to his service, she, having given orders for the burial of the King her brother, whom God pardon, caused that the night before the funeral the service for the dead should be said in her chapel in Latin, as is the custom in Rome. And the next day the Requiem Mass was sung, which caused no less marvel among the people than the mutations which had already happened, for the Catholics showed additional joy, and the heretics great dejection. A few days afterwards her Highness repaired to the castle of Richmond, where she is now, with a great Court of nobles and ladies of this kingdom who have come to pay their homage, and to kiss her Highness's hands.

*How the Duke and his son and other nobles were condemned to death.*

Afterwards, on the eighteenth of this month of August, the Duke of Northumberland was brought to trial, and as your Lordship knows, these proceedings are here conducted with great dignity. A stage was erected in the great hall of Westminster, very majestic and richly tapestried, and in the midst of it a rich canopy, and under this a bench with rich cushions, and carpets at its foot: and

the commissioners in the cause coming with their maces and officers took their seats as managers for the Queen. And first upon the said bench was seated the aforesaid Duke of Norfolk, who presided for that day for the Queen's person, and he held in his hand a long white wand, being the ensign of the Lord High Marshal, which office from ancient times the sovereigns have reserved for themselves; and on either side of the bench were seated the peers of the realm, who were named to be judges between the Queen and the delinquent, according to the law. And these same judges, or the most of them, were those whom Northumberland had left in the Tower with Lady Jane. And immediately it was commanded that the prisoner should be produced, and so the Duke of Northumberland was brought forth, who, making three reverences down to the ground before coming to the place where he had to stand, came with a good and intrepid countenance, full of humility and gravity. The said Duke of Norfolk, whom he had kept in confinement for so many years, and all the other nobles present at the trial, whom a few days ago he had commanded at his leisure, beheld him with a severe aspect, and the greatest courtesy shown him of any was a slight touch of the cap. And forthwith three accusations of treason were brought against him. The first, if it was true that on the eighteenth of July and afterwards he was found in the field with an armed levy against the Queen's majesty, her Highness having been proclaimed Queen the

same day in London and throughout the kingdom. The second, whether he had caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of the Kingdom. The third, if in the field he had proclaimed Jane Queen and the Queen's majesty a rebel and a bastard. And if he had denied it, there were present, as has been said, twelve peers empannelled, in conformity with the law of this realm, to judge him after he should have been convicted by the witnesses who should be summoned. To all which the said Northumberland answered that it was the truth, and that he confessed, and that he stood condemned by the law ; and out of compassion at beholding him in the misery into which he had brought himself by the ambition of reigning, and all grieving for their own sakes for the stain they had contracted by the offence they had committed against the Queen by consenting to his treason, even though by constraint, as has been said, many of those present could not refrain from tears. And as he acknowledged his offence, the verdict of the twelve peers was not delivered, according to the law. He implored all that they would beseech the Queen's majesty not to think upon his iniquities, but upon her exceeding clemency, though saying that he knew his offence to be so grievous that he deserved no mercy. He requested that two or three of the Council would come to confer with him in prison upon important secrets, which greatly imported her Highness's service. He besought her Highness to grant him four or five days for the things which concerned his soul,

which was allowed. He was condemned according to the law to be drawn on a sledge and hanged, and before he was dead to be drawn and quartered, and his heart and entrails cast into the fire. The same day the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's son and heir, were condemned in like manner. And the next day Northumberland's brother, and the Captain of the King's Guard and Vice-Chamberlain, who was named Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Harry Gates, brother of the Vice-Chamberlain, were brought to trial, all of whom confessed and were condemned like the others.

*How a sermon was preached in the Cathedral, and of the great tumult occasioned thereby; and how the Duke and two more were brought forth to execution.*

On the following Sunday a learned and Catholic preacher discoursed in St. Paul's, the principal church of this city: and inasmuch as good men had not been permitted to preach for several years, the people went to hear him: the good for their comfort, and the heretics out of curiosity. And as the preacher began to say that the bishop of this diocese had been imprisoned for four years for preaching the truth concerning the holy sacrament of the altar and other things pertaining to religion, the heretics, offended at the mass which had been said in

the Tower, began to make a tumult, drawing or brandishing poniards against the preacher, crying with loud voices and exclamations, "You lie, for the things which he preached and you praise were mere idolatry!" And although the magistrates and governors of the people were on the spot they could not quell the tumult, and had enough to do to prevent them from killing the preacher. After this first day that he offered to preach the Lords of the Council came with an armed band of three or four hundred halberdiers, and he preached without any disturbance in as clear and catholic a fashion as could be done anywhere. And, to the great scandal of the good, wicked people stoned and despoiled of his vestments a clergyman who was saying mass in his parish, following the Queen's example, and some of them are apprehended. Afterwards, on the twenty-second of this month of August, Northumberland and the aforesaid Captain of the Guard and Palmer were brought forth to be beheaded: and so many came on horseback and on foot that it was a sight to see; and full of curiosity to hear what they would say, especially on matters of religion. They were brought forth from the Tower under a strong guard, on account of the disturbances which had come to pass. And the Duke, who was the first to suffer, having taken place upon the scaffold, approaching the railing, begged with much humility and great dignity to speak to the people, as is the custom. And amid profound silence he spoke in substance these words, which I heard from being very near him.

*Discourse which the Duke made to the people before his death.*

Sirs and friends, I have come to die as ye see, having been condemned by the law, and I declare and confess that I have grievously offended God, and I beseech you earnestly that ye would implore God for my soul, and if there be any here or absent whom I have offended I crave their forgiveness. And to this all the people answered, "God forgive you." And when silence was made, he said, I have been condemned by the law to be drawn, hanged, and quartered: but the Queen's majesty, whom I have so grievously offended, has shown this clemency that I should be beheaded, for which I thank her, and making so low a reverence that his knee touched the ground, he added, and I pray her to pardon me that God may. And he continued, that although it was true that he had been chief in bringing those things to pass for which he had been condemned, it was also true that he had done it by the instigation of many whom he would not name, and that he forgave them as he desired the forgiveness of God. And he begged the people that these should not be noted of any. And pursuing his discourse, he said, Brethren, ye are not ignorant in what troubles this realm has been and now continues, as well as in part of the reign of King Henry, as from then until this day, all of which are notorious: and I wot well that there is no one of you

but knows what has befallen us for having departed from the true Catholic church, and believed false prophets and preachers, who have persuaded us of their false doctrines, and have brought me as the chief offender in this and other things to the extremity which ye behold, as they have done to many others, as ye know. For which I ask God pardon, and declare to you that I die a true Catholic Christian, and confess and believe all that the Catholic church believes. And I warn you, friends and brothers, that none should believe that this great novelty and new conscience arises from being urged upon me by any (this he said lest any should think it was the Queen's doing, or that he had been induced by some friend, or the Bishop of Worcester, who was with him as confessor), or that any have persuaded me in this: but I tell you what I feel at the bottom of my heart, and as ye see I am in no case to say aught but truth. And thus I charge and enjoin you straitly that ye give no credit to the preachers of such false doctrine. And consider, brethren, what I say, and do not forget that I charge you to have no let or shame in returning to God, as ye see that I have not, and to consider what is written in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints." And I, though ignorant, could say more upon this, but you may reflect and consider it with an impartial mind. And if this does not satisfy you, think upon the miseries in which so great a multitude has lived and died in Germany: one against another, and that they

have been trampled down for having forsaken the Catholic faith, wherefore God has forgotten them as he has forgotten us. And if this does not move you to feel as I have declared to you, let each one make his private reckoning and consider how it has fared with him in his own condition. And if he is not utterly blind, I am sure that he will come into this my true knowledge: and therefore I again charge you to embrace what the Catholic church believes; which is what the Holy Spirit has revealed from generation to generation from the time of the Apostles until our days, and will continue until the end. And live peaceably, and be obedient to the Queen's majesty and her laws, and do that which I have not done.

### *Of the manner of the death of the Duke and his accomplices.*

Having spoken thus, almost word for word as I have said, withdrawing himself from the rail, he knelt in the middle of the scaffold, and read a prayer in a book presented to him by the aforesaid Bishop his confessor, and repeated the Creed in Latin with great devotion, and thereupon his vesture was taken off and his eyes bandaged, and at the time that he had to cast himself upon the beam where his head should be cut off with an axe, he made the sign of the cross, which was a great offence to some, as well as the discourse he had spoken. And as the

bandage was not well fitted when he was about to stretch himself upon the beam, he rose again upon his knees, and surely figured to himself the terrible dreadfulness of death. At the moment when he again stretched himself out, as one who constrained himself and willed to consent patiently without saying anything, in the act of laying himself out inactively and afraid, he smote his hands together, as who should say, this must be, and cast himself upon the said beam, where the executioner struck off his head at a blow, and may our Lord be pleased to have him in His holy glory! And although his treasons were many and notorious, his end was that of a true and catholic Christian, and he took his death most patiently. And two days before his execution he heard mass in the Tower, and confessed himself and received the sacrament, and with many tears declared the same which I have said he spoke to the people on the scaffold. And your Lordship may be assured that the Duke's confession has edified the people more than if all the Catholics in the land had preached for ten years.

The same day were beheaded the aforesaid Captain of the Guard and Sir Thomas Palmer, who also died confessing the Catholic church, and spoke to the people in the same manner as the Duke, though not with so much fervour or such copious discourse. The other four who I said were condemned have not as yet been executed, nor many others who have been brought to trial; it is thought that some will suffer and that others will be pardoned. Jane and her husband are in prison.

*How the Queen commanded proclamation to be made that the Catholics and heretics should not revile one another, and ordered many prelates and nobles to be set at liberty.*

On the twenty-third of this month vespers were said publicly in the cathedral of this city, and on the twenty-fourth, being St. Bartholomew's day, the Bishop of the same sang mass, with the organ: and the same is beginning to be done in the parish churches, insomuch that to see it is to be in a new world. And as the Queen's majesty has always continued her hours, mass, and vespers at court, the others follow her example. And to avoid the scandal which happened a few days ago, as has been related, a proclamation has been made, and the Queen has commanded that all should live peaceably under pain of punishment and being deemed traitors, and that all should live in charity without disputing with each other, and should not revile each other, the heretics having been wont to call the Catholics Papists, and the Catholics to call them heretics. And if there should be any one desiring to be heard upon these matters he shall be willingly admitted into an assembly which by the aid of God shall be made of the learned men of this kingdom of both sentiments; and if his sentence be good it shall be received, and if not he shall receive satisfaction of his opinion, and with the grace of God what the aforesaid wise men shall agree upon will be conformable to the

judgment of the learned men of other countries, and they shall take the order which the Holy Spirit shall manifest unto them. And let them be obedient to this measure, that they may not incur the rigour of the law. Such fear has fallen upon this people that they dare not murmur or speak a word, and the heretics are as though stunned at beholding what is taking place, and what they see to be coming; and the good, who are much the more numerous, are so overjoyed that they cannot contain themselves, praying our Lord to preserve the Queen, on whose life hangs all the weal or woe of this kingdom. As soon as her Highness came to the Tower she set at liberty the bishops who were imprisoned, and the Duchess of Somerset, who was also in confinement, and, as has been said, the Duke of Norfolk, and the nearest heir to the throne after those named in the will of King Henry, who had cast him into prison at the age of six, and he has continued there until now that he is four-and-twenty, and he is the son of the Marquis of Exeter. This Marquis, and the Earl of Montague, brother of Cardinal Pole, being sons of the King's own aunt, and the aunt herself, were beheaded for the jealousies and displeasures which the King conceived against them: may God be pleased to have them all in His holy glory! The Bishop of Winchester, whom, as I have said, her Majesty ordered to be set at liberty, she has created Lord High Chancellor, which is the highest office in this kingdom, as your Lordship well knows, and is as it were Grand Inquisitor in

matters concerning religion. He is the most learned man in the kingdom, and in all men's esteem worthy to hold such an office for his great experience and knowledge in affairs of state. We greatly confide in our Lord that things temporal and spiritual will be reformed little by little. And your Lordship may believe this, for I know from a sure quarter that if it please God it will be here as there, in obedience to the Pope as in other things. And although in this matter of the Pope the heretics are very stubborn, the Queen is so Catholic that it is held for certain that her Highness will have no regard to heretical knaves, but to her conscience, which is the truth. Yet as these things, as your Lordship knows, must be done discreetly and in due season, I hope in God that her Highness will take such order that He may be content with her. The Queen, God willing, will be crowned on the first of October, and great festivities are in preparation. After which it will only remain that our Lord should make her happy with some good and Catholic husband. They say here indeed that the Prince our lord is very far from such good fortune, both because it is said that a treaty of marriage has been or is about to be stipulated between him and the Princess of Portugal, and also because it is not said that any motion has been made in the matter by the Emperor or any one else. Some indeed say that proposals may be made on the part of the Prince of Piedmont, but I do not believe it. It seems that the Emperor and his son would not do amiss in

profiting by so great an opportunity, both because it is to be believed that being so nigh of kin, and being, God be thanked, so conformed to each other in religion, and well nigh equal in puissance, if any steps were taken the matter might come to good effect should the Portuguese match not be yet concluded. And if the Lord vouchsafed us to behold this glorious day, what great advantage would befall our Spain by holding the Frenchman in check by the union of these kingdoms with his Majesty! and were it only to preserve the states of Flanders his Majesty and his son must greatly desire it; for, as your Lordship knows better than I, the day that our Lord receives his Majesty into glory the Low Countries will be in peril of the Frenchman attacking them or of the German invading them by his means, the succour of Spain being so remote, and the country not free from suspicion of some revolt on the ground of religion, or because, as some say, the people are not well affected towards our nation. Also for Spain it would be most advantageous, for should aught befall the Prince's son, whom God preserve, the son born here would be King of both countries: and in sooth this would be most advantageous to the English also. And although they naturally desire that their king should be a native, yet, weighing these and other considerations, and that the Frenchman will invade them some day by way of Scotland, it would be as good as gold to them, and it would be most opportune that our Prince should come to live here and in Flanders, and leave a son in this country.

And of one thing be your Lordship assured, that all the Catholics would lift up their hands to God, for as they naturally love their country, so naturally they bear affection to her Majesty, and particularly to Spain for love of the good Queen Katharine ; and so many are the good that there are a hundred Catholics for four heretics. And I stick not to say that this people loves our royal house more than do they of Portugal, and there is but a year or a year and a half difference in the Princesses' ages. Then it is notorious to all the world that in virtue and Christianity the English Queen may vie with the most perfect, and how much greater she is in the things of this world your Lordship well knows. And although it is not for me to treat of affairs of state, I trust that your Lordship will take what I have said in good part, being moved by my natural love to my sovereign Lord and Prince ; and my great attachment to this Lady from my having been settled here for so many years, and having had continual and especial knowledge of her Christian mind and abundant virtues. May our omnipotent Lord dispose all things for his service ! And I presume to hope that your Lordship will not take amiss my tedious discourse, the matter being of such nature that it has been needful to make mention of those things which I have written. And as no more occurs to me I humbly remain, etc. London, the first of September, 1553.

*The Coronation of the most illustrious and serene Queen Mary of England.*

On the last day of September of this present year fifteen hundred and fifty-three the most Serene Queen Mary of England departed from the Tower to go to the Palace of Westminster, for her coronation was to take place the following day, as came to pass, and the order of her Majesty's procession was as follows:—

First went at the head many gentlemen of the Court and kingdom, all arrayed in suits of silk with beautiful linings, mounted on very fine horses richly caparisoned, the greater part of which were covered with velvet trappings down to the ground: after whom went all the Barons and Princes richly and superbly adorned, some with gold and others with silver, and many of them having their horses decked with plates of the same metal as their persons, some with gold, some with embroidery, which caused great admiration, not more by the richness of the substance than by the novelty and elegance of the device. Among these went Messer Giacomo Foscarini, Messer Marco Antonio Erizzo, Messer Marco Bernardo, Messer Giacomo Ragazzoni and four other merchants in superb costume, wearing suits of black velvet lined, beautifully trimmed with many points of gold, and garnished

all round with embroidery of more than a palm in width. And they also wore mantles of black velvet in the same manner as the suits, fully the half covered with embroidery: their horses were clothed with the same black velvet housings down to the ground, with a golden border a palm wide, and all the other trappings of the horses were in the same manner, and every one of their grooms wore the same velvet with tassels of gold. And behind these went four Spanish cavaliers attired in cloaks of mulberry-coloured velvet lined with cloth of silver, with a very fine fringe of gold all about, and wearing breeches and doublet and collars in the Spanish fashion, with housings on their horses, which appeared to great advantage both for their richness and their elegant design; and each was led by two grooms, without cloaks, but otherwise draped in the same manner. And after these came other principal persons. Four ambassadors, one from the Emperor, one from the King of France, one from the King of Poland, and one from the Signory of Venice. And then came two in Ducal garb, who represented the two Duchies of Normandy and Gascony, formerly possessed by this crown. Next came her Majesty in a chariot open on all sides, save for the canopy, entirely covered with gold, and the trappings of the horses which drew it were also of gold. Around the chariot rode the Duchess of Norfolk [the Marchioness of Exeter], the Marchioness of Winchester, and the Countess of Arundel, attired in crimson velvet, with the trappings of their horses of the same. Her Majesty

was marvellously adorned, her mantle of silver and her head-dress of gold, with many and precious jewels of great worth. Her Majesty is thirty-eight years of age, and of matchless beauty. Next came a triumphal chariot covered with silver, in which was the Lady Elizabeth, sister of her Majesty, and Madam Ann of Cleves, wife of King Henry the Eighth, and afterwards divorced by him, attired in cloth of silver. Then came two other triumphal chariots covered with cloth of gold, in each of them four Princesses, after these sixty peeresses and ladies on horseback, richly arrayed in crimson velvet, and the trappings of their horses of the same; the whole at the Queen's expense. And in this order they proceeded through a broad street more than a mile and a half long, in which were many triumphal arches of rich construction with dainty devices. The first of these was erected by the Genoese nation, which was the most beautiful and the best made and the largest of all, and exceeded all the rest in novelty and elegance of design, and upon it was a Latin inscription as follows :—

Mariae Anglorum Reginae inclytae constanti piae coronam Imp. Britanici et palmam virtutis accipienti Genuenses pub. saluti in primis laetantes cultum tribuunt.

On the other frieze was inscribed—

Virtus superavit, Justitia dominatur, Virtus triumphat, Pietas coronatur, Respub. restituitur.

There was another of the Florentine nation, but not so beautiful as that of the Genoese, which bore upon its

upper frieze Feliciter Vivat. And on the middle frieze, Virtutes fama Reginam ad sidera tollunt. And on the lower, Mariae Anglorum Reginae, Victrici, Piae, Augustae, Florentini gloriae insignia erexerunt.

There were many other triumphal arches, all erected by the English, except one by the German Hanse Towns, but as they were not of the beauty and rare quality of the two above mentioned I will say no more of them. The multitude was infinite that greeting her Majesty in succession escorted her to the palace. The first of October, an hour before noon, her Majesty, received by eleven bishops and the canons, came to the church of Westminster, whither, by her command, the Ambassadors had repaired already. Her Majesty came accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of the realm, each in his proper attire, the Duke habited as Duke, the Marquis as Marquis, and the Earl as Earl, and their wives in the same manner and with the same distinctions. Her Majesty ascended upon a great platform, so high that it was mounted by twenty steps, and upon this another smaller one with ten steps to the chair where she seated herself. And immediately rising, she was conducted by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord High Chancellor, round all four sides of the platform that all the people might see her, which Bishop said in a loud voice to be heard of all, Is this the true heir to this kingdom? and all the people shouted joyfully, Yea. He continued, Are you willing to receive her as your Queen and mistress? They answered, Yea, yea. After which her

Majesty went to the altar to hear the sermon; which being finished she prostrated herself on the ground and received benediction with many prayers, and then entered into a retired apartment and divested herself of her mantle of crimson velvet lined with ermine, and returned to the altar in her corset and prostrated herself anew. And continuing thus the litanies were sung, the robes which she was about to assume having been blessed; and then the unction began, and her breast, shoulders, forehead and temples were anointed. She was next clad in a rochet of white taffeta, and spurs were put upon her feet, and she was girt with a sword as when one is armed a knight, and a king's sceptre was placed in one hand, and in the other the sceptre wont to be given to queens, which is surmounted by a dove, and finally they gave her a great orb of gold and crowned her with three crowns, one for England, one for France, and one for Ireland. And then she was arrayed in a crimson mantle different from the first, though of the same velvet, and likewise trimmed with ermine. And thus attired, she seated herself again on the throne above mentioned, where all the nobles of the kingdom came in order of their rank to do her homage, her Majesty continually holding the two aforesaid royal sceptres. And then she commanded that all prisoners should be set at liberty, those in the Tower excepted, and bestowed a general pardon on all who had offended her. Next after this the Bishop of Winchester said mass with much solemnity, the Queen kneeling throughout with great

devotion and great tokens of religion, which being ended, she entered the aforesaid retired apartment, and speedily came forth with the orb in her hand and the royal sceptre, clad in a mantle of purple velvet furred with tufts of ermine, and with the round cap, as monarchs are wont to wear. In this manner she went forth from the church attended by the princes and ambassadors, and proceeded on foot to a great hall hard by, where banqueting tables were splendidly and royally set out, agreeably to the magnificence and grandeur of so great a Queen. When her Majesty arrived in the hall, the Earl of Arundel was there mace in hand as Lord Constable of the Kingdom, appointed to that office for that one day only, and the Duke of Norfolk as High Marshal, both on coursers trapped with cloth of gold, who rode continually round and round the hall, as is the custom at royal coronations in this country. And in the middle of the banquet, a horseman entered armed cap-a-pie in bright armour, with a surcoat of armorial bearings, and the housings of his steed all gold and crimson, and read out a challenge, thus: Whosoever shall dare to affirm that this Lady is not the rightful Queen of this Kingdom I will show him the contrary, or will do him to death: and casting down his glove he rode all round the hall, and returned before the Queen, and proclaimed with a loud voice, that, seeing that none was found who dared to gainsay him or take up his glove, he hailed her as the true and rightful Queen of that Kingdom.

Her Majesty, thanking him as her knight and defender, gave him the golden cup from which she drank, filled with wine, that he might drink and carry it away. After this ceremony, which is the custom in the realm of England at the coronation of every king, the ambassadors came to kiss her Majesty's hands and congratulate her upon her coronation. Who for her magnificence and manifest great virtues deserves to be compared with the greatest queens who have been to this present: and I know for certain that more than a hundred thousand ducats were disbursed in this coronation at her Majesty's expense. Yet it is not the cost that should be weighed so much as the order, and due and timely performance of the ceremonies: all ordered and regulated with great prudence and wisdom, insomuch that this kingdom and this magnanimous Queen have given ample employment for the authors who may desire to write concerning them.

This present work was printed in the very noble city of Medina del Campo, at the press of Matheo and Francisco del Canto, brothers. Finished on the twenty-third day of March, 1554.

# NOTES.

P. 79.—*Your most illustrious Lordship*, Beltran de la Cueva, third Duke of Alburquerque, born about the beginning of the century, died in 1559.

*Ib.—Since your Lordship's departure from hence.*—The circumstances of the Duke of Alburquerque's visit to England, until lately unknown, may now be found detailed in the anonymous Spanish "Chronicle of Henry VIII.," edited by the Marquis de Molins, and translated into English by Major Martin Hume (George Bell, 1889). The Duke arrived in Lent 1544, and, by order of the Emperor, remained to accompany Henry VIII. in his French campaign, which did not commence until July. He was attended to the war by a retinue of a hundred and fifty persons, gentlemen and servants, and took with him "twenty-two jennets, the best to be found in all Spain." According to the Spanish chronicler, he bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Boulogne. "The king commanded expressly that everything the Duke ordered should be done, and although he was not the general, nor wanted to be, he took great pains, for every morning he was the first to be at the battery, and at night as well." He advised the King to assault, but Henry refused, saying "he would rather spend ten thousand pounds of

powder than lose a single one of the Spaniards he had." After the surrender of the town the Duke accompanied Henry to England, leaving his suite and the greater part of his effects behind him. These were taken by a French ship in crossing the Straits of Dover, when "the Duke and his people must surely have lost more than thirty thousand ducats,* for one suit of gold armour was worth ten thousand ducats. When the Duke saw his people had been robbed, he, like a magnanimous man as he was, dissembled, and presently went to London, where he was for two months; but it seemed that they did not show him so much good will as they did before, as they made him feel, for the King gave him no recompense for the goods he had lost: so he went away sufficiently discontented."

P. 81.—*The majority of the English think otherwise.*—Guaras forgets that he has just said that Somerset and Warwick were partly induced to favour Protestantism by seeing the people inclined to it. There were active partisans on both sides, but the bulk of the people were probably disposed to follow the example of the Sovereign, whatever it might be. Philip the Second's retinue reported a few years later: "They say that since the Pope is a man like

* Major Martin Hume, misled by an inaccurate copy, states the Duke's loss at three thousand ducats, and the value of the suit of armour at one thousand: but a MS. recently acquired by the British Museum (Add. 34,143, fol. 58b) distinctly reads *treynta* and *diez*, which are evidently right.

themselves he has no direct power or dominion over them, and that the Pope they acknowledge is their King, and therefore at this present their Queen, who may command or forbid anything." (Viaje de Felipe Segundo, p. 121.) Soranzo says in 1554, "The majority of the population is perhaps dissatisfied."

*Ib.—In surrendering Boulogne.*—Boulogne had not fallen at this date.

P. 82.—*The two Dukes agreed.*—This is an over-statement, though Northumberland's son did marry Somerset's daughter.

P. 84.—*Would rule tyrannically.*—"The same God will take from us the virtuous Lady Mary our lawful Queen, and send such a cruel Pharaoh as the Ragged Bear to rule us, who shall pull [pill?] and poll us, and utterly destroy us." (Epistle of Poor Pratte to Gilbert Potter, July 13, 1553, in the appendix to "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," edited by Mr. J. G. Nichols for the Camden Society.)

*Ib.—Two gentlemen beheaded and two others hanged.*—Vane, Partridge, Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel.

P. 86.—*To kill the King by poison.*—There is no evidence of the truth of this accusation, though many besides Guaras believed it.

P. 87.—*Lord Gilbert.*—Lord Guildford Dudley. "It is not generally known that the title of King was attributed abroad to Lord Guildford Dudley."—*Sir Harris Nicolas.*

P. 88.—*One who demanded why the Lady Mary should*

*not be Queen.*—Gilbert Potter, an apprentice. Mary recompensed him with landed estate in Norfolk.

*Ib.—Twenty-five miles' distance.*—At Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire.

P. 89.—*He almost daily wrote to her Highness letters full of respect.*—This is fully confirmed by the highly interesting report of the Venetian Ambassador in England, Soranzo (Rawdon Brown's Calendar of Venetian State Papers, vol. 5, pp. 532–564), which ought to be reprinted separately.

*Ib.—The fourth of July.*—This, if accurate, is an important rectification of history. Raviglio Rosso, in his "Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d' Inghilterra" (Venice, 1558),* says that Mary did not fly until receiving tidings of her brother's death, and this seems to be implied in most other accounts, as well as by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's assertion ("Chronicle of Queen Jane," p. 2), that he warned her of her brother's death while she was still at Hunsdon. Soranzo and Holinshed, however, rather seem

* Mr. Froude always quotes this book as the composition of "Baoaro," which must mean Badoaro, Venetian ambassador to the Emperor, and previously designated, but not despatched, as ambassador to England : but Rosso merely says in his preface that Badoaro had read it and approved of it. This preface is prefixed to the first correct edition, printed at Ferrara with the author's name in 1560. The Venetian edition of 1558, cited by Mr. Froude, is pirated, mutilated, and anonymous. Rosso was sent from Flanders to bear the congratulations of Charles V. to Philip and Mary upon their marriage, which had apparently taken place before his departure.

to imply the contrary, and Guaras's statement, which is quite direct and unequivocal, and further confirmed by his subsequent remark that Mary did not hear of her brother's death until after her arrival in Norfolk, would remove some difficulties. Mary could not reasonably, when writing to the Council on the 9th, have expressed surprise at having received no official intimation of her brother's death if she had spent the intervening period upon the highway The pretext for her removal mentioned by Guaras, and confirmed by Raviglio Rosso, would also have been superfluous in the event of so very hasty and clandestine a departure. The Venetian ambassador says that Edward died about three hours before dawn, or about midnight on the 6th, which would leave little time for Mary's flight to Kenninghall, if she did not depart until the tidings reached her : nor in that case could her flight have been nocturnal.

*Ib.—About sixty miles.*—She went first to Kenninghall, her seat in Norfolk, whence she wrote to the Council on July 9, and where she seems to have been proclaimed Queen on the same day. She removed thence to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, probably on the 11th.

*Ib.—Accompanied only by her servants.*—Soranzo says that she had only six attendants.

*Ib.—As soon as the said Northumberland, etc.*—This statement seems to arise from a confusion with a former proclamation, of June 27, which of course has no reference to Mary.

P. 92.—*Her Highness commanded that all her host.*—This highly interesting incident of the review, foreshadowing Queen Elizabeth's subsequent conduct at Tilbury, does not seem to be elsewhere mentioned.

P. 94.—*A neighbouring port.*—Yarmouth.

P. 95.—*And thus they all with one consent.*—Guaras erroneously dates this revolution on the 18th instead of the 19th, the day of Mary's proclamation according to himself and all other authorities.

P. 96.—*The public square.*—The Cross at Cheapside.

*Ib.—That night the people supped in the streets.*—Compare Pepys's account at the scenes at the dissolution of the Rump Parliament.

P. 97.—*So many posts were sent throughout the kingdom.*—On this day is dated the letter written from London on Mary's behalf by Lord Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Wyat, and others, exhibited in the British Museum, requiring the gentlemen of Sussex to proclaim her Queen, and denouncing "the ladie Jane, a quene of a new and pretie inuencion." Along with it is exhibited Lady Jane's letter of July 10th to the Marquis of Northampton, requiring his allegiance against the "fayned and untrewe clayme of the Lady Marye, bastard daughter to our great uncle Henry th'eight."

P. 99.—*Twenty-fifth.*—The exact date is not given in the original, having probably been left to be filled in afterwards.

*Ib.—Had it not been for the strong guard, etc.*—This is

entirely confirmed by the author of the contemporary ballad reproduced in this volume :—

"And whereas he went forth full glad, as prince both stout and bolde,
He came a traytour in full sad, with harte that might be colde,
The same whom al before dyd feare, and were in most subjection,
The people wolde in pieces teare, if they might have election."

*Ib.—The thirty-first of July.*—This singular mistake, Mary's entry having taken place on August 3, proves that Guaras's narrative cannot have been committed to writing until shortly before the day on which it is dated, Sept. 1.

P. 101.—*The night before the funeral.*—Guaras avoids saying that this funeral was performed in Westminster Abbey with Protestant rites. The date was August 6.

P. 102.—*The said Northumberland answered.*—Guaras does not notice Northumberland's pleas that he had acted on a commission under the Great Seal, and that many of his judges had been accomplices with him ; both of which were overruled.

P. 104.—*A learned and Catholic preacher.*—Bourne, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, deprived by Elizabeth.

P. 105.—*Began to make a tumult.*—Guaras's account may be usefully checked by, and in its turn may serve to check, the account of Foxe, according to whom the riot was not so much occasioned by the preacher's denunciation of Roman Catholic doctrine and praise of the Bishop of London, as by his "derogation and dispraise of King

Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spoke so mildly, christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and Master Rogers conducted the prèacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe." Machyn says nothing as to the immediate occasion of the riot, but his account is very graphic:—"Ther was a gret up-rore and showtyng at ys sermon, as yt were lyke mad pepull, watt yonge pepell and woman as ever was hard, as herle-borle, and casting up of capes; if my lord mer and my lord Cortenay ad not ben ther, ther had bene grett myscheyff done."

*Ib.—The twenty-second of this month of August.*—The execution had been fixed for the preceding day, but was deferred that Northumberland might make his recantation in the Tower. The postponement was not generally known, which occasioned the scene so picturesquely described in Machyn's diary:—"The xxi of August was, by viii of the cloke in the mornyng, on the Towre-hylle a-boythe x Ml. men and women for to have seen the execussyon of the duke of Northumberland, for the skaffold was mad rede, and sand and straw was browth, and all the men that longest [belong] to the Towre, as Hogston, Shordyche, Bow, Ratclyff, Lymhouse, Sant Kateryns, and the waters of the Towre, and the gard, and shyreyffs offesers, and

evere man stand in order with their holbardes and lanes made, and the hangman was ther, and sodenly they wher commondyd to depart." Strangely enough, Machyn does not say a word about the actual execution.

P. 108.—*Cast himself upon the beam.*—This minute account of Northumberland's execution, by an eye-witness, fully confirms, at least as regards the Tudor period, the opinion lately advanced that the person to be decapitated did not kneel before a block on which the head was reclined, but lay entirely prostrate. Northumberland first kneels in the middle of the scaffold, but to prepare himself for the headsman falls prone (*echase*) upon a beam or plank (*madero*), not a block (*tajo*). The imperfect adjustment of the bandage makes him again assume a kneeling attitude, which he must accordingly have quitted; and when this is rectified he again falls prostrate. The word used to denote his prostration (*tender*) is the same as that employed to describe Queen Mary's attitude at her coronation when receiving the priestly benediction. The English account of Northumberland's execution (see Appendix) also says "he made a cross upon the strawe" (Froude erroneously *sawdust*) "and kyssed it," which he could not well have done if he had not been lying prostrate. This is further corroborated by the engraving representing Somerset's execution in Holinshed's Chronicle (1577). The Spanish chronicler of Henry VIII., describing the execution of Rochford and Brereton, uses the same phrase of each, "Se tendió en el suelo." "Se echó en el suelo."

Of Cromwell, however, he says that he knelt, "se hincó de rodillas," which does not exclude a prostration ensuing.

P. 109.—*Rose again upon his knees.*—This interesting circumstance, not mentioned in the other accounts, tends to confirm the suspicion that Northumberland had been promised his life upon condition of renouncing Protestantism. His demeanour was certainly that of a man who cannot till the last quite persuade himself that he will be executed. Lady Jane Grey, however, who had no love for him, did not think so. "For the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not. For what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case, being in the field in person against the Queen, as general, and after his taking so hated and evil spoken of by the Commons; and at his coming into prison so wondered at [mobbed] as the like was never heard of by any man's time? Who can judge that he should hope for pardon whose life was odious to all men?"—*Queen Jane and Queen Mary* (Camden Society), p. 24.

*Ib.—Confessing the Catholic church.*—This is not correct as regards Sir Thomas Palmer, whose dying speech, though he avoided controversial topics, was so Protestant in spirit as to be translated in great part by the anonymous writer, possibly Calvin, of the "Response à la confession du feu Duc Jean de Northumberlande" [Geneva], 1554.

P. 110.—*The twenty-third of this month.*—Machyn notes of this day:—"The same day begane the masse at sant Nicolas Colabas:" and of the next, "A goodly masse song at sant Necolas Wyllyms, in Laten."

*Ib.—The Queen has commanded.*—See the text of this proclamation in the Appendix.

P. 111.—*The nearest heir to the throne after those named in the will of King Henry.*—Courtenay, Earl of Devon.

P. 112.—*I know from a sure source.*—See the interesting report made to Pope Julius III. by Cardinal Pole's messenger returned from England. (Calendar of Venetian State Papers, vol. 5, pp. 429–432.)

*Ib.—The Emperor and his son would not do amiss.*—They thought so too. On September 2, the day after Guaras's words were written, Charles V., who was in Flanders, despatched Diego de Azevedo on a mission to his son in Spain. Azevedo arrived at Aranjuez on September 16, and Philip immediately began to prepare for his departure to England, although the match was not sanctioned by the English Council until November, and Philip's own envoys did not arrive in England until December 27.

*Ib.—In case of the death of the Prince's son.*—The unfortunate Don Carlos, Philip's son by his deceased wife, then a boy of eight.

*Ib.—The Frenchman will invade them some day by way of Scotland.*—Soranzo says in his report on England to the Senate of Venice:—"It is also very evident how much the English writhe under the French domination of Scotland,

both because it seems to them that that kingdom passed out of their hands fraudulently, the young Queen—already affianced to King Edward—having been carried off to France; as also because they very well know that through that quarter many and most serious attacks may be made upon them."

P. 117.—*Messer Giacomo Foscarini.*—The Italian text calls these merchants *li nostri*, which testimony to the original authorship is designedly omitted in the Spanish version.

P. 118.—*The Signory of Venice.*—The Italian text has *Our most illustrious Signory.*

*Ib.*—*The trappings of the horses.*—The Italian text has *mules*, agreeing with the accounts of the French ambassador Noailles and of Raviglio Rosso.

*Ib.*—*The Marchioness of Exeter.*—Accidentally omitted in the Spanish version.

P. 119.—*Thirty-eight years of age.*—In fact she was thirty-seven, having been born in February, 1516.

*Ib.*—*Of matchless beauty.*—Spanish gallantry. The Italian merely says that her Majesty was well enough. "Di bellezza assai convenientemente ornata." Soranzo describes Mary's personal appearance as follows: "She is of low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin; her eyes are light-coloured and large, and her hair reddish; her face is round, with a nose rather low and wide; and were not her age on the decline she might be called handsome rather than the contrary."

*Ib.—Covered with silver.*—The MS. used by Planché says crimson velvet, and describes the Princess as attired in the same stuff. The account here given agrees with that of the French ambassador. Raviglio Rosso says crimson velvet.

*Ib.—At the Queen's expense.*—She had been obliged to borrow twenty thousand pounds.

*Ib.—A broad street more than a mile and a half long.*—The procession passed through the City by way of Fenchurch Street, Gracechurch Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, St. Paul's Churchyard, Ludgate Hill, and Fleet Street.

P. 120.—*Erexerunt.*—Raviglio Rosso adds that the Florentine arch was decorated with four statues representing Pallas, Tomyris, Judith, and Mary herself, and inscribed with the following bad verses :

Magnanimis per te quod pax sit parta Britannis,
Exilio ac redeunt justitia et pietas ;
Et virgo praestes quod vix effecerit ullus
Vir, summum qui sit vectus ad imperium ;
Dum recipit virtus augustam vere coronam,
Et reddunt omnes publica vota Deae ;
Laeta tibi talem tribuit Florentia cultum,
Qui tamen arcano pectore major inest.

*Ib.—The first of October.*—We here follow the Italian original. The Spanish translator has so entangled himself that he seems to make the procession occupy nearly a day and a night, leaving the Tower on September 30, arriving at Westminster Palace on October 1, and immediately leaving again for the Abbey.

*Ib.—Is this the true heir to this kingdom?*—The Bishop, of course, made no such concession to the *vox populi*, nor does the Italian original attribute it to him. His precise words, as given in the MS. printed by Planché, were: "Sirs, here present is Mary, rightful and undoubted inheritrix by the laws of God and man to the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, France, and Ireland, whereupon you shall understand that this day is appointed by all the Peers of this land for the consecration, inunction, and coronation of the said most excellent Princess Mary; will you serve at this time, and give your wills and assent to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation?"

P. 121.—*To hear the sermon.*—This discourse, which was preached by the Bishop of Chichester, treated of the obedience due to monarchs from their subjects.

P. 122.—*A great hall hard by.*—Westminster Hall.

*Ib.—For that day only.*—His permanent office was that of Lord High Steward.

*Ib.—Read out a challenge thus.*—The precise words were:—"If there be any manner of man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, that will say and maintain that our Sovereign Lady, Queen Mary the First, this day here present, is not the rightful and undoubted inheritrix to the imperial crown of this realm of England, and that of right she ought not to be crowned Queen, I say he lieth like a false traitor, and that I am ready the same to maintain with him whilst I have breath in my body, either now at this time or at any other time, whensoever it shall

please the Queen's Highness to appoint, and thereupon the same I cast him my gage."

P. 123.—*Who for her magnificence, etc.*—The translator here tampers designedly with his original, applying to the Queen herself what the Italian says of her coronation.

*Ib.*—*I know.*—Italian, "it is believed."

*Ib.*—*Timely.*—Here we follow the Italian, the sense of which has been misunderstood by the Spanish translator.

# APPENDIX.

## The sayinge of John late Duke of Northumberland, vpon the scaffolde at the tyme of his execution.

Good people, all you that be here presẽt to see me dye. Though my death be odvouse and horrible to the flesh, yet I pray you iudge the beste in goddes workes, for he doth all for the best. And as for me, I am a wretched synner, & haue deserued to dye, and moost iustly am condempned to dye by a law. And yet this acte wherefore I dye, was not altogither of me (as it is thoughte) but I was procured and induced therevnto by other. I was I saye induced therevnto by other, howbeit, God forbyd that I shoulde name any man vnto you, I wyll name no man vnto you, & therfore I beseche you loke not for it.

I for my parte forgeue all men, and praye God also to forgeue thẽ. And yf I haue offended anye of you here, I praye you and all the worlde to forgeue me: and moost chiefly I desire forgeuenes of the Quenes highnes, whome I haue most greuouslye offẽded. Amen sayde the people. And I pray you all to witnes with me, that I depart in perfyt loue and charitie with all the worlde, & that you wyll assiste me with youre prayers at the houre of death.

And one thinge more good people I haue to saye vnto you, whiche I am chiefly moued to do for discharge of my conscience, & that is to warne you and exhorte you to beware of these

seditiouse preachers, and teachers of newe doctryne, whiche pretende to preache Gods worde, but in very deede they preache theyr own phansies, who were neuer able to explicate thẽ selues, they know not to day what they wold haue to morowe, there is no stay in theyr teaching & doctryne, they open the boke, but they cannot shut it agayne. Take hede how you enter into straũge opinions or newe doctryne, whiché hath done no smal hurte in this realme, and hath iustlye procured the ire and wrath of god upon us, as well maye appeare who so lyst to call to remẽbraunce the manyfold plages that this realme hath ben touched with all synce we disseuered oure selues from the catholyke church of Christ, and from the doctryne whiche hath ben receaued by y^e^ holy apostles, martyrs, and all saynctes, and vsed throughe all realmes christened since Christ.

And I verely beleue, that all the plagues that haue chaunced to this realme of late yeares synce afore the death of kynge Henrye the eyght, hath iustly fallen vpon us, for that we haue deuyded our selfe from the rest of Christendome wherof we are but as a sparke in comparisõ. Haue we not had warre, famyne, pestylence, y^e^ death of our kinge, rebellion, sedicion amonge our selues, conspiracies. Haue we not had sondrye erronious opiniõs spronge up amonge us in this realme, synce we haue forsakẽ the vnitie of the catholyke Churche: and what other plagues be there that we haue not felt.

And yf this be not able to moue you, then loke vpon Germanye, whiche synce it is fallen into this scysme and diuision from the vnitie of the catholike church is by continuall dissention and discorde, broughte almoost to vtter ruyne & decaye. Therfore, leste an vtter ruyne come amonge you, by prouokynge to muche the iuste vengeaũce of God, take up betymes these

contentions, & be not ashamed to returne home agayne, and ioyne youre selues to the rest of Christen realmes. and so shall you brynge your selues againe to be membres of Christes bodye, for he cănot be head of a dyfformed or monstruous body.

Loke vpon your crede, haue you not there these wordes: I beleue in the holy ghost, the holy catholik churche, the communiõ of saynctes, which is the vniuersall number of all faythfull people, professynge Christe, dispersed throughe the vniuersall worlde: of whiche number I truste to be one. I could bryng many mo thinges for this purpose, albeit I am unlearned, as all you knowe, but this shall suffice.

And heare I do protest unto you good people, moost earnestly euen from the bottome of my harte, y$^{t}$ this which I haue spoken is of my selfe, not beyng required nor moued thervnto by any man, nor for any flattery, or hope of life, and I take wytnes of my lord of Worcestre here, myne olde frende and gostely father, that he founde me in this mynde and opinion when he came to me: but I haue declared this onely upon myne owne mynde and affection, for discharge of my conscience, & for the zeale and loue that I beare to my naturall countreye. I coulde good people reherse muche more euen by experience that I haue of this euyl that is happened to this realme by these occasions, but you knowe I haue another thyng to do, whervnto I must prepare me, for the tyme draweth awaye.

And nowe I beseche the Quenes highnes to forgeue me myne offences agaynst her maiestie, wherof I haue a singular hope, forasmuch as she hath alredy extended her goodnes & clemency so farre upon me that where as she myghte forthwith without iudgement or any further tryall, haue put me to moste vyle & cruell death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I

was in the feild in armes agaynst her highnesse, her maiestie neuertheles of her most mercyfull goodnes suffred me to be brought to my iudgement, and to haue my tryall by the lawe, where I was most iustly & worthelye condempned. And her highnes hath now also extended her mercye and clemencye upon me for the manner and kynde of my death. And therefore my hoope is, that her grace of her goodnes wyl remyt al the rest of her indignation and displeasure towardes me, whiche I beseche you all moost hartely to praye for, and that it may please God longe to preserue her maiestie to reigne ouer you in muche honour and felicitie. Amẽ, sayd the people.

And after he hadde thus spoken he kneeled down, sayinge to them that were about: I beseche you all to beare me wytnesse that I dye in the true catholyke fayth, and then sayde the Psalmes of *Miserere*, and *De Profundis*, and his *Pater nostre* in Latin, and sixe of y^e^ fyrste verses of the psalme *In te domine speraui* endynge with this verse, Into thy handes O lorde I cõmend my spirite. And when he had thus finished his prayers, the executioner asked him forgeuenes, to whom he sayde: I forgeue y^e^ with all my harte, and doo thy parte without feare. And bowynge towarde y^e^ block he sayd. I haue deserued a thousand deths, and thervpon he made a crosse vpon the strawe, and kyssed it, and layde his heade upon the blocke, and so dyed.

Imprinted at London by John Cawood, printer to the Quenes highnes, dwellynge in Pauls Churchyarde at the sygne of the holy gost.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

## An inhibition of the Queene, for Preachyng, Printyng, &c.

THE Quenes hyghnes well remembryng what great inconuenience and daungers haue growen to this her hyghnes Realme in tymes past through the diuersitie of opinions in questions of Religion, and hearing also that now of late, sithens the begynnyng of her most gracious reigne, the same contentions bee agayne much renued through certeine false and vntrue reportes and rumours spread by some lyght and euill disposed persons, hath thought good to do so vnderstand to all her hyghnes most lovyng subiectes her most gracious pleasure in maner folowyng.

First, her Maiesty beyng presently by the onely goodnes of God, setled in her iust possession of the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, and other dominions thereunto belongyng, can not now hyde that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath euer professed from her infācie hetherto, which as her Maiestie is minded to obserue and maynteine for her selfe by Gods grace duryng her tyme, so doth her highnes much desire and would be glad the same were of all her subiects quietly and charitably embraced. And yet she doth signifie vnto al her maiesties louyng subiectes, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her highnes mindeth not to compell any her sayd subiectes thereunto, vnto such tyme as further order by common

assent may be taken therein: forbyddyng neuertheles all her subiectes of all degrees, at their perils to moue seditiõs, or styrre unquietnes in her people by interpretyng the lawes of this Realme after their braynes and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the tyme, till (as before is sayd) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and straitely chargeth and commaundeth all her sayd good louyng subiectes to liue togethers in quiet sorte and Christen charitie, leauyng those new founde deuilishe termes of Papiste or Hereticke, and such lyke, and applying their whole cares, study and trauaile to lyue in the feare of God, exercisyng theyr conuersations in such charitable and godly doyng, as their lyues may in dede expresse that great hũger and thyrst of Gods glory and holy worde, which by rashe talke and wordes many have pretẽded: and in so doyng, they shall best please God, and lyue without daungers of the lawes, and maintayne the tranquillitie of the Realme, whereof as her hyghnes shalbe most glad, so if any man shall rashely presume to make any assẽblies of people, or at any publicke assemblies or otherwise shall go about to stirre the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, accordyng to her dutie, to see the same most surely reformed and punished according to her highnes lawes.

And furthermore for asmuch also, as it is well knowẽ that sedition and false rumors haue bene nourished and mayntained in this Realme by the subtiltie and malice of some euill disposed persons, which take upon them without sufficient authoritie to preach and to interprete the worde of God after their owne brayne in Churches and other places, both publicke and priuate: and also by playing of Enterludes, & Printyng of false fonde bokes, Ballades, Rymes, & other leude treatyses in the English tounge cõcernyng doctrine in matters now in question, and

controuersie touchyng the hygh poyntes and mysteries of Christen Religion, which bookes, Ballettes, Rymes and treatyses, are chiefly by the Printers & Stationers set out to sale to her graces subiectes of an euill zeale, for lucre & couetous of vyle gayne : her highnes therefore straitly chargeth and commaundeth all and euery of her sayd subiectes, of what soeuer state, condition or degree they be, that none of them presume from hence forth to preach, or by way of readyng in Churches or other publicke or priuate places, except in the scholes of the Uniuersitie, to interprete or teach any Scriptures or any maner poyntes of doctrine concernyng Religiō, neither also to print any bookes, matter, ballet, ryme, Enterlude, processe, or treatyse, nor to play any interlude except they haue her graces speciall licence in writyng for the same, upon payne to incurre her hyghnes indignation and displeasure.

And her highnes also further chargeth and commaūdeth all and euery her sayd subiectes, that none of them of their owne authoritie do presume to punish, or to ryse agaynst any offendour in the causes aboue sayd, or any other offendour in wordes or deedes in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or hys complices, or to sease any of theyr goods, or violently to vse any such offender by striking or imprisonyng, or threatnyng the same, but wholy to referre the punishment of all such offenders vnto her highnes and publicke authoritie, whereof her Maiesty mindeth to see due punishmēt accordyng to the order of her highnes lawes.

Neuerthelesse, as her hyghnes mindeth not hereby to restraine and discourage any of her louyng subiectes, to geue from tyme to tyme true information agaynst any such offenders in the causes aboue sayd unto her grace or her Counsaile, for the punishment

of euery such offender, according to the effect of her highnes lawes prouided in that parte: so her sayd highnes exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subiectes to obserue her commaundement and pleasure in euery part aforesayd, as they will auoyde her hyghnes sayd indignatiõ and most greuous displeasure. The seuerity and rigor wherof, as her hyghnes shalbe mȯst sory to haue cause to put y^e^ same in execution: so doth she vtterly determine not to permit such vnlawfull and rebellious doynges of her subiectes, wherof may ensue the daũger of her Royall estate to remayne unpunished, but to see her sayd lawes touchyng these poyntes to bee throughly executed, which extremityes she trusteth all her sayd louyng subiectes will foresee, drede and auoyde accordyngly: her sayd highnes straytely chargyng and commaundyng all Maiors, Shriues, Iustices of peace, Bailifes, Constables and all other publicke officers and ministers, diligently to see to the obseruyng and executyng of her sayd commaundementes and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offende in this part, committyng the same to the next gayle, there to remayne without bayle or mayneprise, till upon certificate made to her highnes or her priuy Counsayle of theyr names and doynges, and vppon examination had of their offences, some further order shalbe taken for their punishment, to the example of others, accordyng to the effect and tenour of the lawes aforesayd. Geuen at our manour of Richmond the xviii. of Auguste in the fyrst yeare of our most prosperous reygne.

Woodfall & Kinder, Printers, 70 to 76, Long Acre, London, W.C.

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